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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

IN THE MATTER OF AN APPLICATION BY CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS
PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE
GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY
AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE
PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC
IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND
SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Hon. Mr. Justice T.R. Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

March 6, 1975

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

VOLUME XII

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.

MAR 12 1975

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I N D E X

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WITNESSES:

Mrs. June HELM
John Kimberley STAGER*
- In Chief

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Stewart JAMIESON
John Weston MacALEER
Thomas Henry ESPIE
- In Chief

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* Mr. Stager's initials were erroneously
head-noted as "J.T." instead of "J.K."

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Vol. XII

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.

MAR 12 1975

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Yellowknife, N.W.T.

March 6, 1975

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: This morning as part of the overview, we propose to call two witnesses who will deal with their topics-- I think that the word is con-jointly. The proposal is that they should be both sworn and introduced at the same time and allowed to carry on in a manner that they have devised among themselves.

Dr. Helm and Dr. Stager, please. I would possibly take Dr. Helm first and we -- are there two microphones?

DR. HELM: Yes.

JUNE HELM, sworn.

THE SECRETARY: Would you state your full name please?

A June Helm.

JOHN KIMBERLEY STAGER, sworn.

THE SECRETARY: Would you state your full name please?

A John Kimberly Stager.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Dr. Helm, what is your present occupation?

DR. HELM:

A I am professor of anthropology at the University of Iowa.

Q Yes, and how long have you been professor at Iowa?

1 A Since 1960.

2 Q Yes. And I understand
3 you have a PhD.?

4 A Yes.

5 Q IN What field?

6 A Anthropology.

7 Q And from what university?

8 A University of Chicago.

9 Q Yes. And what was
10 the subject of your thesis?

11 A My thesis was on a
12 small band hamlet of Slave Indians who live on the
13 banks of the Mackenzie River.

14 Q Yes, now, following
15 your PhD., what did you do?

16 A I have been since the
17 PhD. at the University of Iowa, but before and
18 after the attainment of the degree I had done a
19 number of years of field work in the Mackenzie
20 River drainage region of the Northwest Territories.

21 Q Yes.

22 And can you tell us in short
23 the nature of the fieldwork that you were doing
24 for that period of time?

25 A Well, to avoid the kind
26 of technical, anthropological interests, I can say
27 that I have worked with Slave people, with Hare Indi-
28 an people, briefly with Chipewyans on aspects of
29 their kinship terminology and then since 1959 as
30 far as field contact, I have concentrated on the

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1 Dogrib people of this region surrounding us.

2 Q Well, now, Dr. Helm,
3 I understand that your research and field work has
4 been funded by a number of public sources including
5 the National Museum of Canada.

6 A Yes.

7 Q And that you are presen-
8 tly the recipient of a grant from the National Science
9 Foundation to study the Athabasca people .

10 A Yes, that is correct.

11 Q And that you are the --
12 in addition -- the editor of a handbook on the sub-
13 Arctic to be published by the Smithsonian Institute
14 in the United States.

15 A Yes.

16 Q And you are the author
17 of the requisite number of papers and materials that
18 anthropologists have to produce.

19 A That is right.

20 Q Yes.

21 I think that I should also
22 ascertain that you were a witness called by the Native
23 peoples in the caveat hearings before the Hon-
24 ourable Justice Morrow.

25 A Yes, in 1973.

26 Q And that you are an
27 advisor to the Land Claims Research Project.

28 A Yes, of the Indian
29 Brotherhood that is going on currently.

30 Q Yes. Yes.

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1 Dr. Stager.

2 DR. STAGER:

3 A Good morning.

4 Q Dr. Stager, I understand
5 that you are an Bachelor of Arts and Geography
6 from McMaster University.

7 A That is right.

8 Q You did one year of
9 graduate work at the University of British Columbia.

10 A Yes, Sir.

11 Q And are a PhD from
12 the University of Edinburgh.

13 A that is correct.

14 Q Well, what is your
15 field?

16 A That is a bit difficult
17 to say, Sir. Geography and historical geography, I
18 suppose particularly.

19 Q Yes. What was your
20 PhD. thesis?

21 A My thesis was on the
22 historical geography of the Mackenzie Valley from
23 1750 until 1850.

24 Q Yes, and have you had
25 field experience in the North?

26 A Yes, beginning in 1952
27 and there for about four full seasons and part
28 seasons in seven other years I have been in the
29 Mackenzie area, particularly the Delta region.

30 Q Yes, and I understand,

1 Dr. Stager, that you have done work for the Federal
2 Government of Canada as a geographer and did parti-
3 cular research on the reindeer herd?

4 A Yes, that was for the
5 Canadian Wildlife Service.

6 Q Yes, and that you have
7 also performed research on the community of Old Crow
8 for the Federal Government's Socio-Economic Committee?

9 A Yes, that is true.

10 Q Yes, and that you
11 are presently a professor of geography at the
12 University of B.C. and Assistant Dean of Graduate
13 Studies?

14 A That is so.

15 Q And you too have written
16 the requisite number of papers?

17 A So my colleagues tell
18 me.

19 Q Yes.

20 Well -- what other standard
21 is there?

22 (LAUGHTER)

23 Q Well, Dr. Helm, Dr.
24 Stager, you have prepared a -- your presentation,
25 your evidence for the Commission in a form that is
26 suitable to yourselves and I would ask you to in-
27 troduce it and carry on, please.

28 DR. HELM:

29 A Thank you. I will
30 take off at the beginning, -- Dr. Stager and I

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1 did have opportunity to meet a few weeks ago and
2 discuss what we felt were the most critical things to
3 be brought up in a very limited time period relating
4 to the -- what we might call the "contact" history of
5 native and Non-Native persons in the Northwest Terri-
6 tories through time and our aerial concentrations
7 brought me to largely to speak of material south of
8 the Delta and of the Indian groups there although not
9 exclusive, I will refer to Inuit as well, whereas
10 Dr. Stager's activities have been much more concentra-
11 ted in the Delta and in the Old Crow area, and
12 so he will give more perspective on those areas.

13 Indeed the contact history
14 of the two areas of the sub-Delta, south of the
15 delta region, is somewhat different from the
16 experiences of the Inuit and the Northern Dene
17 or Indian peoples in their contact relations and
18 experiences in the Delta so our break I think res-
19 ponds somewhat to historical circumstance itself.

20 I might add that we are going
21 to try to cover about a half a million square miles
22 and 250 years in three hours. So if I tend to speed
23 up at a gallop you may wave me down, but I think that
24 we should get on the move.

25 The first topic which I am
26 taking on is the Native peoples and linguistic
27 geography of the Northwest Territories and we must
28 recognize that the aboriginal inhabitants, the people
29 who have been here for thousands of years, belong
30 to two great language families. The Eskimoan, which

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1 is represented by the Inuit or Eskimo peoples, and
2 the Athapascan, which are represented by the Indian
3 peoples, or Dene or a variant of that term as
4 they express it in their own language.

5 I cannot take time to
6 go into the archaeological evidence from the present
7 into the past, but this, we get evidence in this land
8 of aboriginal occupation as soon as that great con-
9 tinental ice sheet begins to pull back and was possible
10 for man and animal to subsist, and indeed in
11 several areas we now have archaeological connections,
12 by what we call the direct historical method,
13 working from known sites of historic contact times,
14 back into the past where we can pretty well pinpoint
15 that the ancestors, let us say, of the peoples,
16 the Chipewyan peoples, were living in the areas
17 in which we find today, at least 2,000 years ago.
18 In other words, I am really establishing the creden-
19 tials of both Inuit as well as Dene as being
20 peoples who have been in -- largely in their respec-
21 tive areas of at least for legal purposes, I think that
22 we can say, time immemorial, or as far back as any-
23 body can be traced

24 Now, the distribution of the
25 two peoples correspond rather beautifully to the
26 great major environmental ecological zones of the
27 North -- the Inuit or Eskimo are largely all the
28 way around Alaska, across Canada and to Greenland,
29 Coastal peoples, they are sea mammal oriented.
30 They are oriented to the margins of the sea and out

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1 on the sea for subsistence of most of the year.

2 The Dene or Indian peoples,
3 and this includes not only the Indian peoples of the
4 Northwest Territories, but all of the Indians of
5 Alaska, except those in the Archipelago. The Dene
6 people are sub-Arctic interior forest oriented
7 peoples. they are large land mammal oriented. The
8 barren grounds are tundra. Inbetween is a zone of
9 seasonal exploitation for both of these great native
10 American groups. Occasionally we will find a few
11 kinds of Eskimos, such as the Caribou Eskimo of Keervaten
12 and who live essentially inland year round, but the
13 emphasis of both groups has been, the Inuit to
14 exploit the coast and to move seasonally inland after
15 Caribou and at fishing sites, usually in the summer
16 and fall and then retreat to the coast, whereas
17 the Dene traditionally stick within the woods or at
18 least within that forest tundra ecotone and only
19 seasonally again penetrate beyond the edge of the
20 woods, again largely in response to the caribou and
21 indeed we will find Dene and Inuit on occasion
22 encountering one another as such places as Porter
23 Lake in our region of more interest here.

24 Now, Professor Stager will
25 treat more pronouncedly of the Inuit history of
26 the Inuit of the delta in -- when his section comes
27 up. I would like now to give us one slide at least
28 to indicate the major distribution of linguistic
29 sub-groups. I have not divided the Inuit peoples
30 dialectically from the variations that may be found

1 in this vast expanse of the Canadian area. I have
2 divided the various Dene or Athapascan speaking
3 peoples into linguistic sub-groups and you will see
4 the major ones listed here.

5 The Kutchin or Looseshoe
6 peoples, the Hare, the Bear Lake and Mountain Indian
7 groups which tend to now be focused in Fort Norman
8 and Franklin as points of trade. The Slave or Slavey
9 the Dogrib and the Chipewyan. The major points of
10 trade historically within the contact era, since the
11 advent of the European in the North, have been for
12 the Kutchin at McPherson and Arctic Red and then
13 with the establishment of Aklavik combined with
14 Inuit, another point of trade, for the Hare; Fort
15 Good Hope, ^{for} the Bear Lake Mountain people: Fort
16 Norman and Franklin, although we will find some
17 Dogrib there and some Slave as well and again you
18 must realize that these distinguishing differences
19 such as Slave versus what we call Bear Lake, are
20 devices of the anthropologist to group and
21 categorize people and it is not really that simple
22 a picture, in terms of the interpenetrations of
23 different dialectic groups and their relations
24 with each other. In fact, we are not sure of all
25 our dialectic assignments.

26 Of the Slave people,
27 Fort Simpson was an early point of trade, we have
28 also Wrigley, Providence, Liard and -- at about
29 1870 or so -- Hay River was established. Dogrib,
30 until Rae was established they were trading

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1 essentially out of their hunting areas, but when
2 Rae was established in about 1852 that then became the
3 major centre of Dogrib trade.

4
5 And for the Chipewyan of
6 the territories and of course, they / extend far beyond
7 the Territories into the Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba.
8 But in the Territories, Resolution, an old point of
9 trade, Smith and Snow Drift.

10 There are other major
11 communities today where native peoples are found.
12 These are on the map, I have attempted, I do not know
13 if you can see the distinguishing between the Indian
14 settlements which are dots and the essentially
15 white dominate or white oriented settlements
16 which are squares, briefly for the Kutchin,
17 we have Old Crow as a -- I did not think as this as
18 a pun until this moment, but it works rather well.--
19 Old Crow as an Indian/^{oriented}dominated community, plus of
20 course Inuvik, which I would call a white dominate
21 and where Inuit would meet with Dene, for the
22 Hare, ^{Lake}Colville / has been re-established as a more
23 permanent form of a particular band, regional band
24 of Hare which have long exploited that area.

25 For the Slave people we have
26 Jean Marie River, Kakisa Lake, Trout Lake,
27 and Nahanni Butte, all Indian communities, which may
28 or may not at the present time have some white
29 personnel attached, such as a school teacher.
30 Dogrib, Lac La Martre, Rae Lakes, Detah, recently

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1 Edzo, established to service the Dogrib people and
2 of course Yellowknife, a white dominate community,
3 which involves a great number of whites and other
4 Indians, but also with Dogrib residents.
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1 The Chipewyan have pulled in
2 from such places as Rocher River. I don't know if I
3 can refer to it later, again in terms of loss of
4 personnel there due to inaccessability of health services
5 ^{was} it/ abandoned a number of years ago. Some of you probably
6 know the term the yellowknives, the famous Akaitcho
7 and I have not included them, they were a regional,
8 what I would call a regional band division of the
9 Chipewyan peoples. They have disappeared as a distinct
10 ethnic societal entity and so the people at Detah
11 I think would be preferred to be -- who sometimes on the
12 government lists always counted as Y ellowknives, I
13 think would themselves consider themselves largely a
14 Kutchin or Dogrib heritage, regardless of how the
15 government identifies them.

16 Now, all these languages are
17 closely allied, and persons with a little exposure to
18 one another can communicate, that is among the Indians
19 and this is true for the various Eskimo differences
20 in dialect as you move across the region. Kutchin
21 or Looseshoes is somewhat more distinctive Athabaskan
22 language compared to the other Athabascans of the
23 Northwest Territories. It has it's affiliations as you
24 can see on my dottings far into Alaska and the Kutchin
25 of the Territories probably, we would think of them as
26 kind of an extension of what is essentially an Alaskan
27 group. Now, you'll notice that these boundaries on this
28 map look kind of geometrical and that was no error.
29 Because peoples here do not stake out boundaries either
30 in terms of running on latitudes and longitudes or along

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1 drainages or anything else. That is, where the people
2 were was rather problematic on where the caribou was that
3 year, rather it was the period of the muskox trade, a
4 number of features, so that I want these lines not to
5 indicate that this is Slave country here, and you go
6 three feet over the boundary and now we're in Dogrib
7 Country, it doesn't quite work like that. So they are
8 mean't to be rather artificial, and this holds, this
9 also for the boundary that separates the Inuit from the
10 various Dene peoples. You've simply got to
11 draw a line somewhere, but it is possible for the
12 Dogrib at their furthest extension going as far as
13 Conwoyto to run into Eskimo at Conwoyto Lake and
14 who's to say "Who's" country it is? And you will also
15 note that I kind of, on these western margins, I sort of
16 took the height of land and drew a line down there and
17 the height of land of course corresponds to the boundary
18 between the Yukon territory and the Northwest territory.
19 But here again that's pretty artificial. The Mountain
20 Indians now centered in Norman and I think Fred Andrew
21 a Mountain Indian, will be talking here in a day or two,
22 certainly don't stop when they hit that boundary, height
23 of land or anything else. I know that Fred has been
24 over to Ross River in the Yukon and some of the Norman
25 people have relatives who marry into the Yukon, and
26 they have met people far into the Yukon. But again, for
27 organizational purposes, anthropologists when they are
28 mapping have to put a line somewhere, and since I felt
29 the southern Yukon was probably/^{not}an issue in the hearing
30 I didn't concern myself as to the extent at which we

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1 would have to run our parapatitic Mountain Indian
2 group way over into other regions, which they may not
3 go to a number of years. It is not of economic interest
4 to do so, but which in other years they may recurr to.

5 On the subject of language,
6 I should speak very briefly of the question and it's
7 an important one that I can't attend to properly here,
8 of language loss, and also the question of bilingualism
9 Now I'll speak just of Indians and let Professor Stager
10 deal with the Eskimo picture.

11 As far as I understand it at
12 present, the Kutchin peoples or Looseshoe in such
13 places as MacPherson and Arctic Red and Aklavik, are the
14 ones who are most concerned with loss of the native
15 language for the younger generation. The Kutchin
16 have been English speakers, bilingual in Kutchin and
17 English, much longer than the Indians to the south of
18 them. And it appears that there is a concern on the
19 part of the people now, that they indeed may be losing
20 the younger generation, may be losing it's command or
21 ability to speak Kutchin or Looseshoe. There are current
22 efforts in developing an orthography or mode of
23 writing Kutchin and developing Kutchin readers
24 going on as I understand right now at Fort MacPherson.
25 Of the other Indian groups, in most settlements the
26 native language is spoken in almost all the homes.
27 Most over forty persons, are illiterate certainly in
28 English, and many of them are monolingual in their
29 native language. In other words, language retention
30 has been very good so far amoung the people south of the

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1 Kutchin, but this is something that we know from the
2 United States that in a generation you can have an
3 overthrow. And so I think that it is wise that such
4 groups as the Tree of Peace are today in Yellowknife
5 offering instruction in the Dogrib language and the
6 work of the Edzo school, in an effort to assure that
7 that aspect of cultural heritage doesn't somehow slip
8 away before it is noticed.

9 Now, there is another native
10 group of the Northwest Territories. And these are the
11 Metis peoples who are, by definition I suppose, one kind
12 of definition, of a mixed Indian and European biological
13 heritage, but that's not really a critical issue, there
14 are many peoples recognized as Indians by all other
15 Indians who also have white ancestry. The Metis
16 culturally represent a dual cultural heritage. I think
17 this is an important issue. And in terms of that dual
18 cultural heritage, between a white aspect and their
19 cultural inheritants and a native aspect, we can make
20 the distinction between two kinds of Metis in the
21 Northwest Territories. Those who are descendants of
22 the Red River Metis, the people of Louis Riel, who
23 established during the fur trade, created by the marriages
24 of largely Cree women, with French fur transport
25 workers. And these workers in the fur trade moved
26 west, right with the fur trade and in fact preceded
27 the official white that showed up to trade in many cases,
28 as a very early Beaulieu in the north arm of Slave Lake,
29 was there to greet the first official trader when he
30 showed up.

1 But these represent peoples
2 really out of the Prairies. The second^{kind} of Metis in
3 the Northwest Territories is a more recent creation of
4 the descendants , and I'm using here the term, the
5 phrase for them, Northern Metis, which Professor
6 Bowden has indicated. And these are persons
7 of Athapascan or Inuit heritage, plus largely Scotch
8 English, English speaking backgrounds, we have the
9 French speaking Cree Metis, the English speaking
10 where one side of the heritage is English speaking and
11 either of Dene stock and we would also include the
12 Inuit people. But what they represent are peoples
13 who have a dual exposure, either in the first generation
14 or later generations, to two ways of life, and it is
15 most immediately expressed in bilingualism and they
16 have served as a result intermediaries in communication
17 of all forms, between the incoming white and the Indian
18 who is the monolingual. I should point out of course,
19 that the Red River Metis descendants today, and we such
20 names as Beulieu, Mercredi, La Ferte , are nonetheless
21 very heavily intermarried with the Dene peoples
22 of the North because they have been up here since about
23 1780 on, and so they do not represent anymore, by any
24 means, simply a Cree heritage in their Indians ancestry,
25 but their ultimate origins came out of the Prairie
26 Provinces.

27 Then there are the non-status
28 Indians, and these are persons of native descent
29 formerly on treaty, who have gone off treaty, for one
30 reason or another, whose father did or women who married

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1 whites, and their children. We find some non-status
2 Indians who chose to go off treaty, living today who
3 are genetically, culturally, and linguistically as
4 fully Indian and as fully accepted in the Indian
5 community, as those Indians who are listed on the govern-
6 ment band rolls as treaty Indian. But of course they
7 have a somewhat different legal and rights position
8 vis a vis the government than do the treaty Indians.

9 Now, I'm going to try and move
10 into the historic dimension and I'm going to try and
11 cover the major historic events and developments from
12 the beginning of contact to World War II. And I think
13 it's useful, or has been useful to me in trying to think
14 about this through the years and using the documentary
15 sources, to divide this span into two sub-periods.
16 The period of early contact, between Indians and
17 Europeans, and what we might call the period of
18 stabilized contact or what I have often called the
19 Full Fur and Mission era. The early contact represents
20 the beginnings or the formations of a new kind of
21 relationship between native peoples and incoming outsiders.
22 The Fur and Mission period represents a stablization
23 with change going on certainly in this long period,
24 but nonetheless not a disruptive kind of change. Let's
25 look at the period of early contact, and I'll just to try
26 hit it first in terms of a few significant dates and
27 events. 1717, the Hudson Bay Company builds a fort
28 near the present site of Churchill in order to attract
29 the Chipewyan trade. Now, they are attracting Chipewyan
30 mainly out of what is today Manitoba, and the edge of

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2 Territories perhaps. But the problem was that
3 Chipewyan were hesitant to visit, to trade at the
4 Bay side forts because of the Cree intervention, and
5 so they moved, put a new fort further north where the
6 Chipewyan could come without fear of Cree interference.
7 And this allowed the Chipewyan then to begin to operate
8 as middlemen, to pick trade goods, move far to the
9 interior and barter for furs with Indians who were not
10 to see a white man for another 70 years.

11 The next important date I think
12 is the winter of 1778 and 89 when Peter Pond wintered
13 at Lake Athabasca. And he represented one of those,
14 I guess we could call a free trader, an entrapenuar
15 trying to buck the Hudson Bay's legal monopoly to the
16 land and these traders attempted to bypass the Hudson's
17 Bay company which was sitting on the Bay side trying
18 to get the Indians to come to them. These free traders
19 if we may call them that move through the interior trying
20 to get at these rich fur lands on the other side of
21 Lake Athabasca in the Arctic drainage. And in 1778
22 Peter Pond crossed the height of land into the Arctic
23 drainage at Methye Portage, and he initiated trade
24 directly with the Arctic drainage in that wintering at
25 Fort Chipewyan on Athabasca with all these Dene we are
26 looking at here. And this was a remarkably rich fur
27 country.

28 Okay, 1789, and by now, the
29 Peter Pond and others are involved in the formation
30 of the Northwest Company, a rival company to the Bay.

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1 And in 1789, Mackenzie, given some instructions or
2 advice from Peter Pond who had been as far as Slave
3 Lake apparently, went down what was then called the
4 Grand River to the Arctic Ocean. And in the course
5 of this summer journey he contacted peoples
6 that today would fall in these designations as Hare,
7 Slave, Dogrib, and Looseshoe. And as he passed Points
8 Separation he found abandoned Eskimo camps. They
9 apparently did not want to meet him.

10 Okay, from 1790 then to 1821,
11 after Mackenzie first looked at this region, then a
12 number of little, usually short lived trading posts
13 sprang up, of the Northwest Company and they ran
14 all the way from Great Slave Lake to the lower Mackenzie.
15 The final date which I use as a closure to this early
16 contact period is 1821, of course I use it because the
17 Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company merged
18 and became what we know for the following era as the
19 effective monopolizing Hudson Bay Company, which was now
20 established in the interior, often at the posts that
21 were founded by Northwest Company men. Many of those
22 posts were closed however, as competition was no longer
23 an issue, you only had as many posts as was most
24 rational in terms of your own trade, without having to
25 worry about your competitors. The Hudson's Bay Company
26 held an effective monopoly, although their legal monopoly
27 lapsed, but they held an effective monopoly from 1821 to
28 about the turn of the twentieth century in most of this
29 land. It's a long period.

30 Now the major characteristics

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1 of Indian life during the early period of contact, first
2 of all the Indians were only very lightly committed
3 to the fur trade. A few did, were persuaded to move
4 more inland to richer fur regions, such as Chipewyans
5 moving more to the edge of the woods, pulled into that
6 area between Athabasca and Great Slave Lake, where fur
7 was better. Generally however, the traders complained
8 and in some areas they continued to complain for many
9 succeeding decades, that Indian committment to the fur
10 trade was light and they couldn't get them to bring in
11 the amount of furs they wanted them to.

12 Since the Indian, the European
13 trading posts were often short-lived, contact with the
14 trader was , for groups in this era, irregular and to
15 a fair degree unpredictable. They didn't know whether
16 that post was going to be there next year, and some
17 populations such as the eastern Dogrib, and the Mountain
18 Indians hardly experienced direct trade contact until
19 well after 1821.
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1 There was a little raiding,
2 this was the period of the Aketcho wars, if we
3 may call it that, a little raiding for furs, a perturbation
4 of intra-Indian relation. due to the greed that could
5 be excited by the guy that had the muzzle-loader
6 in terms of taking some furs away from an Indian
7 further off who hadn't gotten one yet, but this was
8 a relatively short period of, warfare is too pronounced,
9 of raiding, and there was some killing.

10 With the exception of the
11 Fort Nelson massacre, Fort Nelson, B.C. in 1812,
12 Indian-trader relationships were without deaths on
13 either side. If they were not exactly warmly friendly
14 they would be amicable and indeed remain so, because
15 they both had a mutual interest in each other. The
16 Indian wanted the trade goods and the trader wanted
17 the furs and he couldn't get them without the Indian,
18 and he was in no position to coerce him.

19 Of the trade goods, iron
20 implements were critical, and the ice chisel features
21 in many Indian stories. Whites may not be aware how
22 difficult it is to go through two feet of ice using
23 a piece of caribou horn as a chisel. But the Indian
24 certainly recognized the difference. Ice chisels,
25 files and axes and some firearms were the important
26 tools that came in. There were also some luxury items
27 like beadwork, that kind of material, received and
28 exchanged for furs.

29 However, the Indians contin-
30 ued to take all of their sustenance out of the land,

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1 all the fish and mammals that they ate, there was no
2 white man's food involved. The other feature of this
3 era was, we can't really document it, we just get
4 scattered records that could possibly have been in
5 quite severe proportions, ^{were} epidemics. We know of
6 one terrible smallpox epidemic out in the eastern
7 reaches in 1873, and it's hard -- we can surmise
8 from information to the south and east of the Dene
9 beginning of the Northwest Territories may well have
10 suffered population shock and certainly other kinds
11 of suffering from the introduction of European-
12 based diseases which they had not in their own history
13 developed resistance to. I might also add that the
14 beginning of inter-action and inter-marriage between
15 the Red River Metis and the Dene peoples began
16 in this era.

17 Now the fur trade and mission
18 era insofar as you can ever put a beginning and ending
19 day on anything, would run from 1821 when the fur
20 trade was rationalized, the Hudson's Bay Company
21 runs the fur trade in the land, up to World War II,
22 and that's a tremendous expanse and a tremendous change
23 in technology went on. in the western world, the Euro-
24 pean world in that era, and some of that technology
25 also was affecting native land use, in terms of what
26 they had to use on the land; but despite this long
27 span, I don't see that there is that -- change occurs
28 but there isn't sharp breaks, it's a kind of continu-
29 ing change that goes on, that whites were experiencing
30 in the 19th century, or to a much lesser degree, of

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1 course, than the natives experienced up here.

2 The fur trade was the dominant
3 scene of the era, and it's worth noting, I think, that
4 it was 1939 was the first year in the Northwest
5 Territories that the value of production of all other
6 resources of the Territories exceeded that of fur
7 production. In other words, fur remained economically
8 for the whites/^{the} predominant resource of the Territories right
9 up to the eve of World War II.

10 I've indicated that native
11 society and culture in the period between 1821 and
12 World War II certainly underwent many innovations and
13 adjustments and responses to things they were exposed
14 to from the European world, but apparently, except
15 for this problem of epidemics, without a severe
16 disruptive factor involved. IN a way we can speak
17 of them as having a dual economy. The Indian is free
18 on the land, it was in the interests of the fur trade
19 that he remain so; but throughout this era from 1821
20 to the eve of the war, he became more dependent on
21 the trading post as a source of a new level of living.
22 Subsistence on wild game and fish remained, and some
23 items of clothing, shelter and transportation continued
24 to be taken out of the land until well into the 20th
25 century, hides for foot-gear, birch bark for canoes,
26 and so forth. But through time the tools and imple-
27 ments to process natural materials came to derive
28 more and more from the fur trade. Items of European
29 manufacture, guns, various kinds of implements, pots
30 and utensils, cloth and clothing, tea and tobacco,

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1 these became necessities, not really any other kind of
2 ingestible substance. The Indian still ate his food
3 from the land, but he did like his tea and tobacco al-
4 most as well as the Englishman or Scot who was selling
5 it to him.

6 To get these things the Indian
7 had to commit himself to a regular procurement of fur.
8 That certainly does not mean that he was a full-time
9 fur trapper. He was basically living in his communities,
10 and I unfortunately can't go into the nature and strength
11 of Indian social organization. He was living off the
12 land but he had all kinds of tools to live off the
13 land in a different way and to get those tools he had
14 to get fur, so he got as much fur as he needed to get
15 the amount of goods he needed.

16 The Indian relations with what
17 I will now call Euro-Canadian, European heritage
18 Canadians was channelled pre-eminantly through the
19 few agents of the two great institutes, the church
20 which in this area is either Anglican or Roman Catholic,
21 and the fur trade. Furthermore, face to face contact
22 between Indians and these whites was infrequent. Most
23 Indians, most of the time pursued their activities apart
24 from the presence of the European. With modifications,
25 in fact, the Indians yearly round developed and
26 was sustained through this era can still be seen today,
27 especially in bush communities like Rae Lakes or
28 other areas where you don't have a white installation
29 in terms of a store, regular store and so forth, and
30 I'd like to briefly sketch that to give the sense of

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1 tempo yearly round of a long continuing way of life
2 that indeed to people living today is a traditional
3 way of life.

4 At first in the beginning
5 of this era the only whites on the land were personnel
6 at the trading post. In the course of time, missions
7 were established. In earlier times Indians had no
8 permanent dwellings at the fort or post at all, they
9 lived out on the land and in fact did not have perman-
10 ent dwellings on the land. In the latter part of the
11 19th century, a few of them began to build cabins
12 at the fort, or a major fishery or some other site
13 that they occupied for a number of weeks of the year.
14 But they remained seasonally mobile -- ammunition,
15 nets, twine, a few staples, such as flour along with
16 tea and tobacco, from the trader, often on credit.

17 Getting what you might call a grubstake in the fall
18 and paying it back in furs. They left the fort before
19 freezeup to prepare for winter in the bush with their
20 family. Hunting, fishing and snaring was combined
21 with the taking of furs during the winter. Groups
22 of men would come into the fort at New Years and pay
23 off their debts for the fall season with their furs.
24 With new supplies they would return to their bush
25 camps. In March and April furs were again traded and
26 supplies obtained. After the missions came in this
27 coincided with the Easter activities of the churches.

28 Then after breakup in June
29 they would come into forts with their rats and beavers
30 from the spring hunt and as in other occasions of

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1 in-gathering, this was a time for festivities, feasts,
2 dancing, gambling games, and you can see that day if
3 you go up to Fort Rae when the men come in towards the
4 end of June, and see the dances and the hand games and
5 so forth.

6 Now a kind of thing called
7 by the government a band got established in this era,
8 and it wasn't a band in the sense of how the native
9 people organized themselves out on the land, but it's
10 a band that you find on the government band rolls,
11 and this was the Trading Post Band. Those people who
12 characteristically -- there might have been a fanning
13 out into different regions, coming to trade at a
14 single post, not necessarily before that post was
15 established, being in terribly close contact with one
16 another but the existence of the post tended to re-
17 orient the Indian populations especially to accommo-
18 date in-gathering into the fort into their yearly
19 cycle, and this aggregate of groups associated with
20 a specific trading post became what I would like to
21 call the Trading Post Band, and is a derivation of
22 the government's idea of an Indian Band -- the Rae
23 Band, the Good Hope Band, etc.

24 With treaty, government
25 imbued these Trading Post Bands with formal member-
26 ship recorded on band lists. Now there was some
27 native occupations in white enterprises during this
28 era, and I'll try to gallop through them. Firstly
29 the forest hunter, either Indian or Metis, he was
30 responsible for recruiting and directing a small crew

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1 of men to take caribou in quantity or moose for
2 provisioning of post personnel. He was paid in goods
3 and supplies, much of which was distributed to his
4 men. Also there were fishing crews. Places like Resolu-
5 tion was a great fishery and these men were
6 employed in season to stockpile fish for again the
7 permanent trading personnel at the post. Native
8 trippers carried mail between the various posts.
9 At the trading establishment itself you had the
10 native interpreter clerk, often a Metis because those
11 were the persons who were bilingual, and they served
12 as intermediary in dealing with the Indian trappers.
13 A similar intermediary status that got created at
14 the beginning of the 20th century in late times of
15 this era was the Mountie special, or special constable,
16 an intermediary who enables the Mountie to go out
17 and live off the land without freezing to death, and
18 also enables him to communicate to native persons.

19 Finally, early in the era the
20 Indians and Metis were employed by the scores for the
21 summer-long tracking and rowing of york boats, and those
22 york boats came hauled by the strength of men or rowed
23 by the strength of men with an occasional bit of sailing
24 all the way from the delta on down, taking the year's
25 furs at each fort out, bringing the year's supplies in.

26 Beginning with the steamboat
27 "Wrigley", which ran the length of Mackenzie for the
28 first time in 1887, paddlewheel steamboats replaced
29 york boats on the Mackenzie, york boats survived later
30 for the trip between Rae and Resolution incidentally, on

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1 Slave Lake. Metis usually filled the newer jobs
2 available and they were much fewer, you didn't have
3 to have scores of men for brute human labor, and they
4 worked as ordinary crewmen and pilots, and these were
5 occupations which they have continued to follow with
6 the introduction of the, first the gas tugboats, and
7 as near as I can establish the first gas tugboats sho-
8 wed up in this area about 1920, then followed of course
9 by the diesel tugboats and the steel barges.

10 O.K., who were the whites of
11 the north? I've indicated that the Hudson's Bay Company
12 trader and his family and his clerk, the Orkneys or
13 whatever, until the 1860's were the only white on the
14 land, excluding the occasional wandering explorer such
15 as Sir John Franklin and the people who subsequently
16 went looking for him.

17 Direct contact was infrequent,
18 between the Indian trapper, hunter living in the
19 bush, and the trader at the fort, but the relationship
20 was enduring. The trader kept records of each man's
21 productivity and reliability through the year and
22 that would determine the amount of the man's credit
23 issued in the form of ammunition and other supplies
24 for the coming season. The purchase of furs with
25 money, the use^{of} money between Indian and white in
26 the Territories began only in the period of intense
27 trade competition that developed around the beginning
28 of the 20th century, and the free traders that came
29 in at that time introduced money economy. Before then
30 the price of trade goods and furs of all kinds were

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1 reckoned in terms of beaver pelts, the famous made
2 beaver, the standard unit of value.

3 In the 1860's the missionary
4 showed up, Anglican and the Oblate Order of Roman
5 Catholics. Within a decade or so they had at least
6 nominally converted most of the Dene inhabitants
7 of the Territory.

8 The next date for sort of
9 a new push of kinds of whites is about the 1900's,
10 a decade before and after, and I'll call them the
11 free-traders, although some were allied with larger
12 organizations and some operated as individuals.

13 About ten years before the
14 turn of the century free traders in really fantastic
15 numbers, considering the previous number of traders
16 in the land, appeared between Lake Athabasca and the
17 south shore of Great Slave Lake and there was a
18 tremendous competition, and the price of furs went
19 way up, and there was quite a turmoil.

20 In the first decade of the
21 20th century the free traders entered the other areas
22 and this had a significant effect on Indian access to
23 trade goods, as now there was competition, so there
24 was a much greater variety of goods offered at lower
25 price, and this is the period for example when steel
26 traps came into common use. Prior to that the Bay
27 did not feel it worth the expense and effort to bring
28 in steel straps, the Indians were using dead-falls
29 and snares and other devices to take fur, so although
30 we have been calling them trappers all the way through,

Other white personnel in the land -- well to give you a population figure, in 1901 the non-native population of the Northwest Territories was 137 persons. This would include your free traders, your Hudson's Bay people, your missionaries, and their families if they're Anglicans, and some of the church residential school personnel, because at this time you had a few residential schools staffed by nuns or lay persons in the Anglican case, and I might add that only a small minority of Indian children were exposed to schooling, it did not represent any great input into Indian life.

A 1901, I got this from Professor Zazlov's history in the Canadian Centennary Series, 1901, 137 persons. I think he's probably referring only to whites, I do not believe Metis are include in this, it's really a figure for Europeans here.

Between 1900 and World War II other white occupational groups would include white trappers and prospectors in time of high fur prices, or in times when some sort of gold boom was going on,

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1 Signal corps personnel, a few persons serving doubling
2 as Indian agents and also as doctor -- only two or three
3 in the Territories, a few nursing sisters, a few
4 persons representing game warden interests, but
5 essentially a very small number of whites in the land.
6 I think the final topic to be brought into this era
7 is, of course, treaty-making. Two treaties occurred
8 that have affected and continue to affect our native
9 life in the Territories for those persons who were
10 formally put on treaty.

11 As you no doubt know, the
12 Inuit people never were asked to sign a treaty, so
13 I'm speaking now of Dene people. Treaty No. 8 was
14 signed with the Indians south of or trading on the
15 south side of Great Slave Lake in 1899 with some
16 additions in 1900. It was modelled on the treaty that
17 had been negotiated with Indians throughout the Prairie
18 Provinces ever since Confederation. Reads very
19 similar.

20 The immediate impact on
21 Indian life was slight. No reserves were established.
22 The Indians understood the treaty to be a peace
23 treaty, which with the gold strikes that did go
24 on in the Yukon in that last decade of the 19th cen-
25 tury, in Alaska, and the whites that were coming
26 through the Resolution route to get to the gold strikes
27 pressaged a possible flood of whites into the land,
28 and the treaty was perceived by Indians as a recognition
29 that they would not obstruct the entry of whites into
30 the land. The Indians were guaranteed yearly

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1 allotments of ammunition and some twine for nets and
2 a few items. Generally the Metis people were not
3 included in treaty No. 8, this is south of Slave Lake,
4 remember, from Resolution in that area. They were
5 issued script, as had the Metis of the Prairie Pro-
6 vinces been issued it, so they were set apart legally
7 from what very often were their brother-in-laws and
8 father-in-laws by this time from their Dene wives or
9 families.

10 Treaty No. 11 was signed in
11 1921 and then they did some mop-up operations in '22.
12 This treaty was negotiated with the Indians north of
13 Slave Lake. Oddly the land designated as being treated
14 under the treaty extended right through the Eskimo
15 territory to the Arctic Ocean, if you look at the map.
16 The motto of the treaty and the guaranteed goods and
17 the opportunity for reserves at some future time was
18 that of the earlier treaty No. 8, very similar in
19 substance.

20 This time, however, some
21 Metis were given the opportunity and chose to take
22 treaty. It had been recognized that many of the Metis
23 of the Resolution area were, as one Indian agent put
24 it, living as bush Indians, and yet they were
25 denied the yearly ammunition aid, they were denied --
26 well, I was going to say health services but health
27 services were non-existent so -- except for that little
28 box of medicine that was issued each year; but got
29 recognition though indeed ancestrally they could be
30 said to have come out of the Red River area and were

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1 not 100% Indian, but they were socially and culturally
2 living with their Indian relatives as Indians and so
3 we find Metis, some Metis families north of Slave Lake
4 recognized along even the Red River areas,, nonetheless
5 being on treaty.

6 With the signing of treaties
7 the Canadian Government required that the Trading Post
8 Bands be represented by "chiefs" and subsidiary head-
9 men or councillors. Initially at least, and in some
10 areas almost up to the present day, these men were
11 leaders of traditional regional bands, or were trading
12 chiefs of that period of the fur trade monopoly. So that
13 in some areas the representation did reflect, to some
14 degree, the native perspective of who their important
15 men were, and the important men always related to an
16 area, a group of peoples tending to exploit a particular
17 region.

18 Now in conclusion the big
19 point to make on this regarding the nature of Indian
20 and white relations in this whole period from 1717
21 right up to World War II is indicated, I guess, and
22 reached its culmination in that phrase:

23 "Fur and mission."

24 The whites were in this land because the natives were
25 here. If the natives hadn't been here, the whites
26 wouldn't have been here. To both trader and missionary
27 the native was a valuable resource. The trader had to
28 have the native out on the land to get the furs, and
29 he had to persuade him to get the furs and so he
30 was to the trader a resource for furs, and to the

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1 missions, a resource for souls. Again the missionaries
2 were not here to minister to the white population,
3 they were here in an apostletizing role to develop
4 the natives' population to their new style.

5 So without the native, the
6 white settlements as we see them today, the old
7 established settlements on the land and indeed the
8 whites in the land would scarcely have existed.

9 Professor Stager will carry
10 us on further for a few minutes.

11 MR. STAGER: Mr. Commissioner,
12 if I don't get started soon here the audience will have
13 disappeared.

14 But my task is to speak more
15 particularly about the delta region and take the
16 same story of the changing society of the Northern
17 Yukon and the lower Mackenzie or the delta particul-
18 arly from the white contact to the Second World War.
19 Any discussion of the pre-contact linguistic geography
20 of the native people in the Mackenzie-Yukon corridor,
21 Professor Helm has indicated the main boundaries of
22 the Eskimo and Indian lands, and they show up very
23 well on the map and I needn't pursue that.

24 The Mackenzie Eskimos lived
25 along the coast from Barter Island about 75 miles west
26 of the present Yukon border and around Herschel Island
27 the outer Mackenzie Delta, and along the Tuk Peninsula
28 eastward to Baillie Island and beyond. There appear
29 not to have been one continuous group but broken into
30 about five units. There were in the west the Yukon

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1 coastal Eskimos centred on Herschel Island. A second
2 group occupied the outer delta of the Mackenzie, and had
3 their main settlement at Kittigazuit which is not
4 listed as a point on that map, but if I can find it
5 somewhere about in here on the coast, and a third
6 group lived along the Tuk Peninsula between Taker
7 Point and Cape Dalhousie and another group along the
8 lower Anderson River, which is about in here, and
9 another group near Cape Bathurst.

10 There have been various esti-
11 mates of the population of these pre-contact Eskimo
12 communities or populations, but a minimum figure
13 would be around 2,500 people with the largest settle-
14 ment of about 1,000 in the vicinity of Kittigazuit.
15 Indian people of the lower Mackenzie and Northern
16 Yukon are, as Professor Helm has indicated, Kutchin
17 Indians, and sub-division of the Athapascan linguistic
18 group. The Kutchin Indians are themselves made up of
19 several groups, depending on where they lived, and
20 we had one group called the Mackenzie Flats Kutchin
21 who lived just at the head of the Mackenzie Delta,
22 and upstream from it; another group called the Peel
23 River people who hunted the Peel Plateau, which is
24 a tributary drainage to the delta, up in here; and
25 we have also a third group, the upper Porcupine
26 Kutchin, which are across the Richardson Mountains in
27 this area in here, and then the Vunta Kutchin,
28 who are the people who live in the Old Crow Flats or
29 centred in the region of the Old Crow Flats.
30

Now the early contact process

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1 went something as follows, very quickly you'll see a
2 parallel with what has gone before. The middleman
3 Indian traders who made the first commercial contact
4 with the people of the lower Mackenzie and Northern
5 Yukon on Mackenzie River itself, it appears that Cree
6 trading parties had moved down the river before Macken-
7 zie made his journey in 1789 because he discovered
8 iron among the habitations of the Eskimos and it
9 appears that trade goods from Russian sources had
10 moved to the Yukon coast perhaps by Indian trade routes
11 from the Pacific, through the Kutchin people to the
12 coast, and also out from the coastal Eskimos, from the
13 Alaska contacts. The exploration journeys by Macken-
14 zie and later by Franklin in 1825 really had very
15 little effect on natives. It was not until the coming
16 of the fur trade that the establishment of Fort
17 McPherson or, as you can see on the map, I won't turn
18 to point these out each time, Fort McPherson or as
19 it was called then, Peels River Post, which was
20 established in 1840 and that was the point when life
21 really began to change for these people. Prior to that
22 there was some encouragement by the Hudson's Bay
23 Company to persuade Kutchin Indians to travel upstream
24 to Fort Good Hope. This, however, was never very
25 successful and hastened the establishment of Fort
26 McPherson. This new fort was visited by people from
27 across the Richardson Mountains, including those
28 from the Old Crow Flats. In fact it seems to have been
29 some time before the people of the Peel Plateau
30 ventured to trade at the new post. In the meantime the

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1 Hudson's Bay Company attempted to discover an easy
2 passage into the Old Crow land;. A successful
3 journey by Alexander Murray across the Rat Pass to the
4 Porcupine and Yukon Rivers, which is a route basically
5 through here, and the Porcupine to the Yukon River
6 led to the establishment of Fort Yukon in 1847.

7 Goods moved across that route
8 and furs returned, of course, in the opposite direction.
9 After the purchase of Alaska, the Fort Yukon was closed
10 by the Bay and it moved its establishment inside the
11 Canadian border by two or three steps, really, to a
12 place called Rampart House. The presence of Rampart
13 House much farther upstream, in fact it's just at the
14 border, drew people from the lower and even upper
15 Porcupine drainage to that post, and in some sense
16 the divide between the people who resorted to Fort
17 McPherson on the eastern, in the east or further
18 east, and the Rampart House in the west, became the
19 natural divide of the Richardson Range. This pattern
20 of trade was reinforced when a trading post was opened
21 at Old Crow in 1912.

22 The introduction of fur trade
23 to the Kutchin people is, you know, mirrors very much
24 what Professor Helm has said, and began by encouraging
25 the Indians to bring meat to the post because it was
26 necessary to sustain the traders, and after the first
27 decade I guess the trade was relatively firmly estab-
28 lished with the returns of mainly martin, mink and
29 muskrat pelts. In return the Indians received guns,
30 ammunition, cloth, pots, knives, beads and so on ,

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1 tobacco. The fixed locations of Fort McPherson and
2 Fort Yukon tended to focus the life of the Indian
3 people, in that it was necessary for some or all of
4 them to visit those forts once or twice during the
5 year. Such locating factors were reinforced by the
6 Christian Mission which reached the region just after
7 the mid-point of the 19th century. In the race for
8 souls down the Mackenzie River, the Roman Catholic
9 and the Anglican Churches seemed to leap-frog one
10 another from post. to post.. After the first visit to
11 the lower Mackenzie in 1860 and 1861 it appears that the
12 settlement of Fort McPherson was abandoned to the
13 Church of England and Rev. Robert McDonald, the first
14 to cross the mountains regularly to Fort Yukon, secured
15 almost all the Kutchin people to the Anglican faith.
16 Missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, however,
17 established themselves among the Indians of the
18 Mackenzie Flats with a mission at Arctic Red River.
19
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1 The Mackenzie Delta and
2
3 the Northern Yukon are still polarized along religi-
4 ous lines with the majority of them being adherence
5 to the Anglican faith.

6 The acceptance of Christianity
7 acceptance of Christianity tended to strengthen the
8 locational pole of the trading post. The celebration
9 of significant Christian festivals encouraged the
10 people to travel to the churches or to meet the
11 traveling missionary. Thus a life previously controlled
12 by the temporal rhythm of the seasons, with focal points
13 at fish traps and caribou surrounds or crossings,
14 was now altered to -- with new focal points at
15 fur trading posts established by the white man and
16 by temporal changes introduced with the Christian calen-
17 dar.

18 Attempts to introduce the
19 fur trade to the Eskimo people were at first indiffer-
20 ently received. Some Eskimos began coming in the
21 1850's and the 1860's to Fort MacPherson and it
22 became apparent that the most valuable fur in
23 the territory was white fox. Actually this value
24 was not really perceived by the traders for a long
25 time. The first furs that they got they complained
26 about them being oiled by the eskimos and that did
27 not please them much and other people who had
28 travelled like -- travelled in this region, like
29 Franklin reported that the land really was not
30 very productive and so they needn't bother
going that far.

There were a few Eskimos that came to Fort MacPherson at the time that the missionaries had arrived and some were converted and the regular visiting mission to these people began just before the turn of the 20th century.

Thus by the 1890's we find that both the fur trade and the Christian faith were well established among the Kutchin people and at least partially so among the Eskimos of the outer coast.

Now, there were some further influences. Two developments intruded themselves into the lives of the Northern Natives in the 1890"s. Gold discovered in the Klondike River in 1896 brought a flurry of activity to the Kutchin land, and among the Eskimos the arrival of whaling ships in the Beaufort Sea from American ports on the Pacific introduced nearly two decades of relatively prosperous and intense change.

During the gold rush, almost every conceivable route to the Klondike was utilized

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1 from 1898 to '99 and 1900. Many traveled down
2 the Mackenzie River and attempted to pass overland
3 by proceeding up the Peel River to its tributary
4 the Wind River for a crossing to the divide
5 of the upper tributaries of the Yukon itself. I
6 think people can follow the map for themselves.

7 The rush of whitemen past
8 these places must surely have surprised the local peo-
9 ple.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
11 me, Dr. Stager.

12 A Yes?

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Forgive
14 me. Would you just trace that from the mouth of the
15 Mackenzie down the Peel to the --

16 A Yes, sir, -- the
17 route basically carries -- here is the mouth of
18 the Peel here -- up the Peel and I cannot see it
19 with my weakening and aging eyes, but one of these
20 is the Wind River and basically it means crossing
21 the divide in here to the upper tributaries of
22 the Yukon and then passing down the Yukon to Dawson--
23 whoops, I am getting a little bit too far.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: And
25 while you are at it would you trace, if you would, the
26 route from Good Hope to the ---

27 A To the Anderson?

28 THE COMMISSIONER: -- Yes,
29 to the fort on the Anderson River that you mentioned.
30

A The fort on the Anderson River is about in here, or the site of the fort and the Good Hope route was basically an overland route to the upper tributaries of the Anderson and then along the river route, in this direction here, it is roughly through here. There was at one time I believe, I have been told by some local people, that there was once a partial oxcart road, you know, a cordoroy road that was put in through that because it -- the -- much of the material had to go in winter and so on and that is really what cost the Bay too much money in terms of the return that they received. All right?

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank
you.

A As I was saying, the route by the Peel that I have just traced and there is another route across the Rat Pass, through the Porcupine which was the fur trade route that I referred to earlier and it was also used by the Argonauts as they moved towards the Klondike gold fields. Don't mistake that for any other Argonauts that you might hear about.

The rush of whitemen past these places, as I have said, must surely have surprised the local people. It is estimated that as many as 600 people camped at Fort MacPherson during the winter of 1898 to '99 and that there may have been maybe perhaps 200 in small camps in the mountains that year. This migration likely

1 introduced the use of cash among the native people,
2 native Kutchin people.

3 Many of the Kutchin Indians
4 were persuaded to accompany the prospectors as guides
5 or they themselves went to Dawson City. Still others
6 were encouraged to hunt for meat to supply the large
7 numbers of people surrounding the Dawson region and
8 this succeeded in reorienting much of the interests
9 of the Kutchin of the Northern Yukon to the Town
10 of Dawson and away from the traditional posts of
11 Fort Yukon and Fort MacPherson and those who
12 had travelled to Dawson acquired an urban sophisti-
13 cation if I can call it that which set them apart
14 from their fellows after they returned home.

15 The other influence was
16 the presence of whaling ships in the Beaufort Sea
17 and the whalers from the American west coast ports
18 gradually made their way into the bay, through
19 the Berring Strait and entered the Beaufort Sea about
20 1890. They had previously been in contact with
21 many eskimos on the Alaskan Coast and when the
22 whalers moved to Canadian waters they brought
23 some Alaskans with them, that is the Alaskan natives.

24 Natural harbours existed
25 only at Herschel Island and at Baillie Island --
26 Herschel Island is this Island up here -- you cannot
27 see it very well, and Baillie Island is up here.--
28 and they became the two focal points for the
29 whaling activities. The very high price paid for
30 whale bone during this period permitted the whalers

1 out
2 to take/on average as much as a million dollars
3 a season.

4 The Eskimo people were
5 attracted to the whaling sites, as the wintering
6 sites of the ships and gradually were encouraged
7 to hunt game to supply meat for the whalers
8 and over a period of time, hunting severely reduced
9 the number of caribou present on the north Yukon
10 coast and caribou were -- that were once abundant
11 in the Tuk Peninsula, inland from the Eskimo Lakes,
12 were also driven back or were exterminated.

13 The American whalers very
14 quickly/introduced the local people to the fur trade. Indeed
15 it became possible for Eskimo families to place
16 orders for deliveries from San Francisco for
17 goods that were of a greater variety and cheaper
18 than were available to the Hudsons Bay man at Fort
19 McPherson. For the best part of 15 years men, women
20 and children alike were in contact with the American
21 whalers and the most cultured Alaskans who had
22 accompanied them and this had the effect of permitting
23 them to learn English, to learn new customs, to
24 see the whiteman's technology and learn something
25 of his value system.

26 One of the consequences
27 of white contact with the Eskimos along the coast
28 during the whaling era was the introduction of
29 disease. Even after 1850 the Alaska coast there
30 was a gradual erosion of population among the
Alaskan Eskimos and as a result/the diseases like

1 measles, influenza, whooping cough, and other respiratory
2 ailments. As the coastal populations declined they were
3 replaced by inland Eskimos whose ecology was more
4 oriented towards caribou than marine mammals.
5 In any case, these people learned to live with the
6 whalers and tended to migrate eastward towards
7 the Mackenzie Delta as whaling in the Beaufort Sea
8 developed.

9
10 In the Canadian area, disease
11 began to have its effect as well. The measles out-
12 break of 1900 and 1902 was particularly bad and
13 smallpox took many lives. Moreover the missionaries
14 indicate that the introduction of liquor among the
15 Eskimos during the whaling days gave rise to physical
16 violence and loss of life.

17 After the measles epidemic,
18 Jeness suggests, that there were only 400 Mackenzie
19 Eskimos left and the police reports from the newly
20 established/^{post} at Herschel Island in 1903 indicate that
21 approximately a third of the coastal Eskimos were
22 Alaskan immigrants. Other reports show that by the
23 time the whaling period collapsed in 1908 or '09,
24 there were only about 250 original Mackenzie Eskimos
25 left in the region between Barter Island and Bathurst
26 Peninsula.

27 The non-arrival of the
28 whaling ships had consequences for all of the coastal
29 Eskimos including those in Alaska. The only alterna-
30 tive was to develop the furtrade which was introduced
to them by the whalers. And Eskimos from Point

1 -- from the Point Barrow region in Alaska began to
2 move eastward along formerly uninhabited coastline.
3 In time this led to immigration into the Canadian
4 coastal area, especially into the lands formerly
5 occupied by the Mackenzie Eskimos and this had the
6 effect of reversing the population decline and there
7 is an estimate of about 400 eskimos occupying this
8 region in 1923. Three-quarters of whom were from
9 Alaska.

10 At the time of the first
11 World War, considerable sophistication had taken
12 place among the Eskimos of the Western Arctic and
13 by now many items of the whiteman's food and cer-
14 tainly many of the manufactured hunting and house-
15 hold implements were necessities to their new way of
16 life as a consequence of the whalers and the
17 trading.

18 New religious ideas had also
19 been introduced and in a move to take advantage of
20 new economic opportunities, quite a different culture
21 and economic system was being practiced -- different
22 that is, from the original native ways.

23 With the rise of fur prices
24 in the decade of the 1920's life for the native
25 people became reorganized and focused on two points.
26 Herschel Island became the trading post for the
27 coastal people/who were mainly trapping white fox and
28 in 1912, the settlement of Aklavik was established
29 in the Mackenzie Delta and encouraged the opportunity
30 to exploit the muskrat harvest that became valuable

1 in the fur trade. The Delta basically was not an
2 occupied region until this resource became an impor-
3 tant medium in exchange.

4 The Kutchin Indians moved
5 in to occupy the southern part of the Delta and
6 contributed to the fur trade with their winter catches
7 of mink and marten from the surrounding drainage
8 basin. Now, the fur prices were up indeed and at
9 the end of the 1920's muskrats brought a dollar
10 a pelt -- it does not sound like much now, but it
11 was quite a bit then, and white fox on the order
12 of \$40 to \$50 a skin. These prices were many times
13 the value at the turn of the century and wealth
14 literally flowed into the Delta region. Part of
15 the cause for the high prices related to the rather --
16 relates to the rather keen competition that developed
17 when a number of traders acting as free traders or
18 for companies, all of whom attempted to bargain away
19 the returns, and with a surge of credit moving into
20 the region, the local people began to increase their
21 material goods by buying good rifles, more traps,
22 boats and so on.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse
24 me, Dr. Stager, what do you get for a muskrat pelt
25 today?

26 A I am not a professional
27 trapper, sir -- you would have to direct that question
28 to some of the people that I see sitting opposite --
29 so I --
30

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, we

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1 will no doubt hear about it.

2
3 A I daresay, sir.

4 As I was saying, they tended
5 to upgrade their material and implement goods and
6 Peter Usher reports in one of his papers that from
7 1928 to '36 there were over 15 native owned schooners
8 in operation. Now the expansion of the fur trade
9 was badly hit by the price decline in the 1930's,
10 brought on partly by the Depression and the trading
11 activities at both Herschel Island and Aklavik
12 were very slow. In fact, the coastal stations became
13 quite unimportant as people tended to focus their
14 attention on the Delta community of Aklavik and more
15 especially on another Eskimo settlement, Tuktoyaktuk.

16 The coastal people tended to
17 move their activities toward these settlements.
18 Meanwhile the population levels were on the increase
19 and in 1941 the census showed over 700 Eskimos in
20 the region and more than half of them living in the
21 delta. In another decade the count was over 1,000
22 and even at the time of World War II these groupings
23 of Eskimos which we now see as apparent were reason-
24 ably well established and people can now identify
25 what you might call delta Eskimos and another group
26 of coastal people centred on Tuk.
27
28
29
30

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1 Now the Delta Eskimos tend
2 to trap the lower delta and the coast westward to the
3 Alaska border and the Tuk people trap the outer Delta
4 and Richards Island and the peninsula to the east of
5 Baillie Island. A satallite group of people from these
6 communities had spun off and established itself on
7 Banks Island during this period. The fact was, however,
8 that by about 1950, the relative wealth supported by the
9 fur trade had declined to the point where life must
10 have been really very despondent for the native people
11 who attempted to collect enough cash or credit to
12 accommodate the rising prices of those items wich
13 which to them had now become necessary.

14 Now, Mr. Commissioner I have
15 another segment and I am going to look at my clock
16 and wonder whether you wish to --

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I'll
18 just ask Mr. Scott if he wants us to --

19 MR. SCOTT: It's time to
20 rescue the court reporters, and this according to
21 Professors Helm and Stager, is the natural break, so
22 may I suggest fifteen minutes?

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Before we
24 do that Dr. Stager, forgive me, just one other question.
25 You said that the Delta Eskimos were identifiable today
26 I take it that it is the people living in the vincinity
27 of Aklavik, perhaps I take it a few at McPherson
28 and that there were the people living at Tuk and their
29 related group at Sachs Harbour. Can you tell me
30 whether the people at Holman Island and at Polotuk

1 would be considered to be, from the point of view of
2 kinship or their way of life, related to the people at
3 Tuk, in the same way as the people at Sachs
4 Harbour are?

5 A Well, I think that it is
6 fair to say sir, that in this day and age there is a
7 good deal of moving about and one of the sections we
8 will deal with later will indicate that the people are
9 quite mobile and I suspect is a consequence of such
10 things as being in school together, in dormitory schools
11 and other sort of visitations back and forth, there is
12 a tendency for some inter-marriage and moving back and
13 forth in that particular way. So that it's not
14 surprising you know, to be in Inuvik and somebody comes
15 in from Holman Island and or from certainly from
16 Polotuk which has a very close liason back and forth,
17 to be well known to local people and so forth, so that
18 it's like a small academic community, they live a long
19 way away, but you know one another when you see them
20 sort of thing.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: We'll take
22 a fifteen minute adjournment.

23 (PROCEEDING ADJOURNED FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES)

24
25 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

26 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Stager, anytime
27 you are ready? Ignore the crowd coming in and just
28 begin where it suits you.

29 Mr. Commissioner,
30 MR. STAGER: Well/I would like
to take up the development of this whole theme again

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1 by moving into a topic which I have subtitled "Major
2 Economic Stimuli in the Corridor Region in the Post-War
3 Period". During the second world war and especially
4 after the Japanese entered as enemies, there was a need
5 for transportation facilities that would enable the
6 North American allies to supply their European and
7 Asian counterparts. In the North this had the effect
8 first of all, of establishing a number of airstrips in
9 connection with the Northwest staging route to Siberia

10 All weather strips operable for
11 wheeled aircraft built at Fort Smith, Fort Resolution,
12 Hay River, Yellowknife, Fort Simpson, Wrigley, and
13 Norman Wells, and this encouraged commercial airlines
14 to extend their services toward the North, and in 1947
15 Canadian Pacific Airlines, flew to Fort Smith four times
16 and to Yellowknife six times a week. Norman Wells was
17 visited by airlines twice a month and once a month
18 service was available on float planes from the Wells,
19 to Good Hope, Artic Red River, Aklavik and Fort McPherson.

20 The construction of these air-
21 strips did not bring immediate economic gain to local
22 communities in the Mackenzie corridor, but set the stage
23 for subsequent developments by providing fast and year
24 round transportation. The wartime emergency also
25 stimulated the exploration and transportation of
26 petroleum products discovered at Norman Wells, in 1919,
27 and the Canol Pipeline was a project undertaken by the
28 U.S. government with a 4 inch pipe completed to Whitehorse
29 in March of 1944. The refinery at Whitehorse was finished
30 in April and oil was put through the pipe at a peak

Probably the first major project that had any significant influence on local native populations was the construction of the town of Inuvik. In December 1953, the Federal Cabinet decided that the present site of the village of Aklavik was not adequate around which to develop its major western administrative center. We needn't go into the reasons for it. It decided therefore to move the town to some other location and in the summer of 1954 the present site was chosen on the east bank of the Mackenzie river. An attempt in April to begin construction with the use of local labour was somewhat inhibited because the people were so busy trapping muskrats that it was impossible to hire anybody until the season was over at the end of June. And it took a couple of more years for the total/^{plan} to be approved and construction really began in earnest in the summer of 1957. The government provided vocational training programs for local people who then found jobs as

1 carpenter, painters, mechanics, drivers and became
2 the backbone of the labour force building the new town.
3 Natives from as far away as Old Crow and Fort Franklin
4 were drawn to the site to take part in the opportunity
5 to earn a good living wage. Most of the work was
6 completed by the fall of 1960 and in the spring of the
7 following year the town was for all intents and purposes
8 complete. The effect of this prolonged construction
9 period was to have a considerable influence on the
10 local people.

11 They had by this time a very
12 good taste of wage employment and those who found it
13 most to their liking were able to be employed almost
14 full time. The building of the school and the hospital,
15 a movie theatre, a hotel, a liquor store, made Inuvik
16 a more attractive place for a lot of people than
17 Aklavik. The only attractions which remain in the old
18 settlement were of course related to living off the
19 land. Particularly its closeness to good fishing
20 holes and proximity to the best muskrat trapping areas
21 and the nearness to the caribou on the Richardson.
22 Moreover, Aklavik was for most of these people their
23 home and as a town it refused to die. Gradually
24 however there appeared at the north end of Inuvik an
25 increasing number of native families living first in
26 construction huts and later in the newer houses which
27 were provided. It is not easy to measure the economic
28 impact of the construction of Inuvik at the time that
29 it was being built. Wages were of the order of \$200
30 to \$300 a month and this was good money. But people

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1 moved in and out of the ranks of the employed.

2 I don't know whether it's possible to give a figure of
3 the total amount of federal funds that were extended
4 on the construction of Inuvik, but it ranges all the
5 way from 20 million, that is guesses I should say,
6 ranges all the way from 20 million dollars to 70 million
7 dollars, depending on how you determine what really
8 falls within the confines of the project and what time
9 frame we use.

10 In any case, in 1955, when the
11 estimates were made for the town they expected that it
12 would only cost them about three million dollars. That's
13 not an unusual story, I suspect in this day and age.
14 Not all of these funds of course were available
15 for the local economy, but the magnitude of the project
16 compared to the level of activity which I described
17 before the break was really enough to determine that
18 it had a very major impact. The Inuvik project was
19 compounded by another decision to build the Distant
20 Early Warning Line, or D.E.W. Line.

21 Construction was contracted
22 to an American firm, and as there was some urgency in
23 providing radar protection for North America, the project
24 went forward with the view of having it completed rather
25 than involving local labour. Radar sites were built
26 at Blow River, at Tununuk , at Tuktoyaktuk, at Atkinson
27 Point and at Nicholson Peninsula , Cape Perry, and there
28 was a whole series of them.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: Would you,
30 Dr. Stager, just mark, point those places out for us?

The effect of construction work, both in Inuvik and on the D.E.W. Line, meant that there were many more skilled operators than there were before this period. Job training was a benefit and there

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1 was an awareness of benefits of wages, of wage employ-
2 ment made known to many people. As they accumulated
3 their around the town of Inuvik there were improvements
4 in housing and especially those who worked for D.E.W.
5 Line were provided with food and accommodation and
6 annual leave. And so it became known that wage
7 employment was not a simple matter of working and
8 receiving wages but that there were other conditions
9 that could be attached to the jobs.

10 These two events also had a
11 major impact on the centralizing of the population
12 toward the town of Inuvik. Although it's not a major
13 economic stimulus to the region, transportation on the
14 Mackenzie river gives a very good indication of the
15 swings in economic development along it's course.

16 In the period from 1950 to
17 the present, the volume of freight increased nearly
18 tens times, beginning in 1950 at about 40,000 tons.
19 If one follows the figures from year to year, one can
20 see by the relative increase or decrease from one year
21 over the other, the fluctuations in economic conditions.
22 For example, in the decade of 1950 to '59 there was a
23 marked increase in freight handled each year, and the
24 annual increase was anywhere from ten to 50%. From
25 '59 to '64 however, this period indicates a time when
26 economic activity was at a low ebb, and indeed the
27 first few years of the sixties showed a substantial
28 decline in freight handled by the northern transportation
29 companies.
30

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1 Life along the river is these
2 days were probably very much in the doldrums, at least
3 as perceived by the white economic society. From 1965
4 onward however, very material change in the fortunes of
5 the Mackenzie region was brought on by the initiation
6 of major oil explorations. Especially since 1968
7 there has been a continued growth in the amount of
8 material moved down the river. As everyone must
9 appreciate the volume of traffic is almost all one way
10 with the return traffic upstream being approximately
11 10% of that which carries through to the mouth.

12 It is interesting to observe
13 that more than one half of the river freight has in
14 the past consisted of bulk oil products. The use of
15 aircraft as a means of transportation has increased
16 tremendously in the last twenty years. Five scheduled
17 airlines now operate into or out of one or more settlements
18 in the corridor region. And for most of these settlements
19 services of the order of daily or two or three times a
20 week. Some settlements are not serviced, any more than
21 a couple of times a month, and there are exceptions but
22 there are not many of them. Major focal points like
23 Yellowknife, Inuvik, Fort Liard, and Fort Simpson, Hay
24 River and the Wells, these places all have one or more
25 companies that have charter aircraft available for hire.
26 One of the two communities, excuse me sir, one or two
27 communities are not serviced by all the scheduled
28 airlines and depend solely for emergency transport on
29 chartered aircraft.

30 At the upper end of the

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1 Mackenzie valley the presence of the highway somewhat
2 compensates for the lack of air connection.

3 In making this overview
4 stat~~am~~ent it is not I think, important to list the
5 particular information with respect to charters or
6 scheduled airlines. It is the way in which these
7 vehicles service the region that seems important. In
8 areas without road or rail connections, the settlements
9 are served mainly by barge traffic along the Mackenzie.
10 Air Freight is however increasingly important, especially
11 for the large communities like Fort Simpson and Inuvik.
12 It is important to point out also that there is at least
13 one community, Old Crow in the Yukon, which has a major
14 dependence upon air freight for its supplies. There is
15 of course a barge which comes down the Porcupine River
16 known as the Brainstorm for some reason, that is not
17 easily predictable in its habits, and only once in the
18 past has there been a winter road to bring freight to
19 that settlement. Thus air freight supplies from outside
20 are relatively expensive for this native community.

21 Undoubtly, growth and the use
22 of air transportation has contributed something to
23 wage employment opportunities through fuel and freight
24 handling jobs. In addition part time jobs as agents
25 for scheduled airlines has dropped a little more cash
26 into most of the settlements.

27 We should in passing, at least
28 mention mining in the Mackenzie district. Apart from
29 the oil products at Norman Wells, the base metals which
30 are currently being extracted are gold, and associated

1 deposits in this region here, in Yellowknife, and
2 silver from Echo Bay mine on Great Bear Lake. Both
3 mines have been in operation, but not continuously
4 since the 1930's. The Echo Bay site during the war
5 produced radium used in earlier nuclear research and
6 has subsequently been opened for silver production.
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1 The mines in Yellowknife have
2 been in continuous use since the end of World War II,
3 and at the present time about 650 people are directly
4 employed in gold mining. This represents a quarter
5 of the work force of the City of Yellowknife.

6 At Echo Bay, there are
7 approximately 100 people employed at the mine. Taken
8 together, the gross value of production in 1973, I
9 think was about \$39 million in gold and silver, I
10 may be a bit, you know, wide of the mark on that target
11 because I operated from preliminary figures so I hope
12 I won't be held to it.

13 While mining has been a con-
14 tinuous mainstay through part of the Mackenzie Valley
15 economy, it has not affected the native people in a
16 direct way very much. At the present time there are
17 fewer than ten native people involved in mining. Some,
18 of course, have employment in jobs related to the works of t
19 mines, but it is estimated that about 1,400 people
20 in Yellowknife of a total population of 8,100 are
21 directly affected by the fortunes of Yellowknife's
22 two gold mines.

23 Road transportation facilities
24 are also a post World War II phenomenon, although there
25 was a crude road from Grimshaw to Hay River before
26 the war. 4 1/2 million dollars were expended in 1947
27 to upgrade this gravel road to an all-weather route
28 and by 1961 the road was completed to Yellowknife, and
29 in '71 the Fort Providence junction to Fort Simpson
30 was finished. Settlements then in the southern part

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1 of the Mackenzie District now have alternative
2 transportation for incoming goods and something which
3 is frequently not recognized when speaking about roads
4 -- they not only brought material in but they allowed
5 people to escape. Now I think I should at this point
6 make it clear, though, that while people have the
7 freedom to move back and forth among the native
8 segment of the population, it's my understanding that
9 over a period of time there has been no net out-
10 migration, that is they may go out but they tend to
11 return. So the effect of the road in absolute
12 terms might be not as great on that aspect of the
13 human environment.

14 In April '72 the extension
15 from Fort Simpson to Inuvik was announced by the
16 government, and construction began that fall. The
17 right-of-way is cleared to Wrigley by the higher
18 north program, in fact I think the clearing is now
19 complete almost to Mile 400. At the northern end
20 a road of sorts from Inuvik leads to both Fort
21 McPherson and Arctic Red River. I think it's passable
22 in the wintertime basically.

23 It is now obvious, I'm sure,
24 to most of us here that the original date for completion
25 of March '75 is unlikely.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: Do you
27 want to be held to that?

28 (LAUGHTER)

29 A Other connecting roads
30 have been started, for example a road to Fort Nelson

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1 called the Liard Highway have, I think, 21 miles
2 completed south of Fort Simpson. A further road
3 penetrating the north is one that takes off from
4 Dawson in the Yukon and heads north-east to Inuvik.
5 This is known as the Dempster Highway and the plans
6 call for a completion in 1976. - The economic benefits
7 of major highway construction program might be
8 demonstrated by an decrease in the cost of freight
9 arriving at various settlements, especially those
10 which previously depended upon air transport almost
11 exclusively. Roads might also provide more flexible
12 means of communication for individuals between
13 settlements. Other benefits that are suggested include
14 a tourist trade and doubtless there could be an
15 increase in the service functions that would be
16 required for various segments of the highway resulting
17 from highway traffic. It is, however, I think, much
18 less easy to predict the social benefits and disbene-
19 fits as a consequence of highway extension.

20
21 In the hunt for oil and gas
22 there has been a fairly serious program since the end
23 of 1950, and in the 10-year period ending in '55
24 the expenditure on exploration had quadrupled from
25 around \$4 million. In 1966, \$25 million were
26 poured into the exploration game, and the figure was
27 over six times that value in 1971. Now since the
28 hearings are mainly centred on the subject of oil,
29 and more particularly gas, I think it's not necessary
30 to give an overview statement here. It is simply to
point out that a considerable momentum has already

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1 been achieved by this industry in a period of 20
2 years, and that generally the gradual build-up has got
3 to a very significant level of activity, in spite of
4 signs of cut-back in the last few months. Local
5 native people have been gradually drawn in to work
6 for the oil companies, and some of them have come
7 to depend on it. In scattered reports, this is the
8 sort of information that is available. In Wrigley,
9 for example, '71-'72, about 12 people had been
10 employed with the oil companies. In Aklavik the
11 figure is around 20. At Fort McPherson there were
12 54 people, and I should emphasize that at some time
13 worked for the oil companies, not continuously. Out of
14 Tuk there are at least 18 people that are employed for
15 some period of the year. These numbers don't sound
16 very large in themselves, but taken in the context
17 of the size of the communities, and remembering that
18 these employees are frequently the heads of families
19 or wage-earners supporting several other people,
20 the input of wages can have some significant impact
21 on the standard of living of northern natives. There
22 will, no doubt, be much said about the benefits and
23 disbenefits of this type of activity, and it is not
24 necessary for me to say anything more about it here.

25 Mr. Commissioner, that
26 allows me to sit down for a few minutes and ask
27 Professor Helm -- you can keep us apart by
28 noting that I have a different hairdresser.

29 (LAUGHTER)

30 MRS. HELM: I can't think of

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1 an appropriate reply to that so it's one up so far.

2 Professor Stager has just
3 been dealing with development during and after World
4 War II in the transportation-communication industry
5 and some of the consequences in terms of wage labor.

6 Since he has emphasized the
7 and technological economic aspects of the last, shall I
8 say 30-35 years, I'd like to look briefly, of course,
9 to some significant kind of social changes, less
10 immediately apparent in terms of gross Territorial
11 or product, /what have you.

12 One of the things to look at
13 is the growth of population and the components of
14 population, in this case in figures which I have for
15 a 30-year interval. You must realize, of course,
16 that this final category, "other" includes all persons
17 who are not identified as Inuit or treaty Indian, and
18 thus the native Metis population is also under that
19 "other". However, I think in both cases certainly in
20 1971 that non-southern Canadians, "other" is a very
21 small proportion of total category.

22 First of all we see almost
23 a threefold growth in total population and we see
24 absolute growth in all ethnic sectors, but I think
25 the proportionate figures are more interesting, and
26 I will comment at this point that this reaches my
27 limit of statistical manipulation, but I think I have
28 got my percentages right.

29 In 1941 either treaty Indian
30 or Inuit far exceeded as a population unit the other

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sector. On the other hand, look at 1971, now instead of 36% of the total population being persons registered on the treaty rolls, it's just about 20%. In the Inuit people it's gone from 45 to 32, and on the other hand the increase from 1946 plus percent in the essentially white or southern Canadian derived category.

If you look within each ethnic group, and I'll use this word "ethnic" just in terms of this category that the census provides us,

"Treaty Indian, Inuit and other," in 30 years the absolute increase in treaty Indians is 64%, of Inuit it has been over 100%, that is a double in size; but then look at "other, 600%."

Now the native growth has been due to a lower death rate as well as a birth rate above the national average. But the white growth is due mainly to in-migration. Something should be said here for the native population, is that it is a young population. The total population of the Northwest Territories finds about half of its personnel under the age of 25. This is before 1971. But if you look at the Inuit population under 25, you have 70%, and the Dene population, 60% under 25. In other words, we've got young people here and people who again are in a position to be producing more people. The end result, of course, of these figures on the board is that a numerical swamping of the native population by southern-derived whites is under way.

THE COMMISSIONER: Dr. Helm,
don't
I want to deflect you from the course of your

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1 discussion. The 15,000 within the category "other",
2 in 1971 --

3 A M-hm.

4 Q -- is there any way of
5 telling, are you able to estimate the number of those
6 who would be --

7 A Metis?

8 Q -- Metis.

9 A No, I had hoped perhaps
10 to meet a member of the Metis Association and see if
11 they have a count, but I simply couldn't tell
12 you. This would also include non-status Indians who
13 went off-treaty five or ten years ago. They would, I
14 presume, be small in numbers. I would guess in the
15 order of 100 or 200. Well, with their children it
16 would be more than that, sorry. I just can't --

17 Q I'm just curious.

18 A I am, too, but it doesn't
19 come out in the census, and that's what I had avail-
20 able, and I do hope that we can from the Metis Associa-
21 tion, they should be the ones to give us a more co-
22 herent estimate. There has been an estimate derived
23 both for the Metis non-status peoples of the Northwest
24 Territories and the Yukon/^{con}jointly, but I don't have
25 those figures and I couldn't break them down between
26 the two Territorial divisions in any case.

27 Still looking at the popula-
28 tion and maybe I'll go back to the other map, I always
29 find it useful to stare at a map. People might refer
30 to some point on it. Going back considering population

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1 another way to look at it is in terms of sociologically
2 significant components in terms of who is inter-acting
3 with who, both within a group and in terms of a
4 power structure hierarchy or in terms of major categor-
5 ies of kinds of people other than just the ethnic
6 division.

7 Now about 12 years ago a
8 Professor Jacob Freed from McGill University did quite
9 extensive work in surveying all of the Territory --
10 Northwest Territory in its various settlements, and he
11 set forth at that time, what I think would still hold
12 today, except in different portions in numbers, what
13 he called the three vital populational components of
14 the larger northern settlements. He says, "First you
15 have the transient southern Canadians represented by
16 government Civil Servants and other private agencies
17 sponsored southern Canadians." Second component is
18 what he referred to as the non-government northern
19 whites, that is those whites who for some reason or
20 other have settled in the north -- the trapper-
21 prospector who stayed on, the former Hudson's Bay
22 Company man who does not leave, the transportation
23 companies employees, a few business men who have come
24 north, in other words they see themselves as permanent
25 residents; and thirdly, as a sociologically significant
26 final component, the native population of Indian,
27 Eskimo and Metis -- again this would be in terms of
28 their self-definition whether or not they are listed
29 in government definitions as being others or Indians
30 or what have you.

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1 He says that putting these
2 three components together has created what he called
3 a dual social structure in the larger settlements.
4 He calls them communities, although they occupy single
5 settlements. First he says there's a modern highly
6 organized occupational community made up of discreet
7 autonomous agencies in which the population consists
8 of job-holders, not settlers, and these would represent
9 government officials for one, who come in for a number
10 of years and go out.

11 Secondly there is what he
12 calls the more traditional frontier community of
13 natives and independent whites. This would be our
14 image of what I call the fur-mission period, of which
15 that's about all we had.

16 In the white sector of the
17 population of the Northwest Territories, what impresses
18 an observer of 20 or more years, is the growth in the
19 numbers and significance up to the present, at least,
20 of the type 1 individuals, that is the transient job-
21 holders working for government or other private agencies
22 who are not settling, and those being the types that
23 create what he calls the first kind of community, the
24 occupational community. This is coupled with, of
25 course, in part the emergence of urban centres to a
26 magnitude of 20 years ago is fairly impressive. Yellow-
27 knife, now a population of eight or 9,000; Hay River,
28 Smith and Inuvik would be the major settlements to
29 think of, representing, it's small in number compared
30 to Edmonton or Winnipeg, nonetheless representing and

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1 replicating in many ways an urban way of life and
2 being the focal points of urban services, even as
3 they spread out further into the land. These urban
4 centres, of course, are strongly geared to the interests
5 of and financially in substantial part, I suspect, .
6 supported by the occupational community. The govern-
7 ment job-holders, the job-holders of the banks here
8 in town, the job-holders in mining at Yellowknife.
9 Certainly a number of the northern white settlers are
10 dependent for their livelihood on providing either
11 first or second-hand goods and services to this tran-
12 sient occupational community.

1 I will not go into the few
2 figures that I was able to muster because some of them
3 are contradictory as to what the numbers of job holders
4 are because fortunately Professor Stager gave us
5 some indication in terms of recent years of the
6 industrial or non-government, transient occupational
7 community.

8
9 The government community --
10 expansion has been striking and like the population
11 sector of the private transient community it has
12 not had a tendency to wax and wane. It has just
13 waxed. Today there are only a few kinds of government
14 jobs -- I am sure that everyone here is familiar
15 with them -- in each case the ranks have greatly
16 expanded. The military installation at Inuvik
17 -- all education and health and welfare expansions.
18 I was able to pull one set of figures from Mr. Philip's
19 book of 1967, in which he pointed out -- in 1953
20 (he at that time was a member of the northern
21 administration division) -- he said that there
22 were about 150 personnel of the northern administration
23 branch working in the Yukon Territory and in the
24 Northwest Territories. In 1967, which gives us a
25 14 year interval, there were / about 1200 . So in
26 14 years it went from 150 government personnel
27 from Northern Administration in the North to 1,200
28 and I would -- did not calculate what that would
29 be in 1975.

30 Now, again, my own area of

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1 interest is of course the Native life and experience
2 rather than the white community -- or sector --
3 of the North.

4 I would like to character-
5 ize somewhat of what we might call the "modern"
6 era in Native life, beginning at about World War II
7 and these trends increasing and some times accelerating
8 with fantastic rates in the most recent decade.

9 The dominant trends of the
10 modern era for Natives are indicated in the terms
11 that anthropologists keep inventing in trying to
12 characterize this condition. And here are some
13 of them: The Government Commercial Era, the
14 Government Industrial Era, the Microurban Era,
15 the Period of Planned Change. None of those
16 phraseologies would have been appropriate in 1935.

17 These terms indicate that with-
18 in the last few decades the natives of the Northwest
19 Territory have become continually more subject to
20 the pressures that issue from big government,
21 large scale commerce and industry, the aggregation
22 into settlements and especially into these white
23 dominate urban centres to some degree and the
24 accelerated communication of aspects of southern
25 Canadian lifestyle. The trading post has given
26 way to the commercial store. The present day Hudson
27 Bay Company outlet or any other erstwhile trading
28 establishment may still buy fur, but the year's
29 profits are from the sale of thousands of kinds of
30 commercial goods, including fads, fashions, gimmicks

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1 that we are familiar with in southern Canadian living.

2
3 Many of the greatly increased
4 number of Native employees are in jobs directly or
5 indirectly affecting native life. Game and forest
6 management personnel, welfare workers, health officers,
7 school teachers, just to name a few, and the inten-
8 sity of their instructional and their regulatory
9 roles in bringing the Native to accomodation and
10 submission to the master national Euro-Canadian
11 system, far exceeds the dominating regulatory control-
12 ling role that the trader or the missionary were
13 able to achieve in the past.

14 The Government programmes
15 affecting native life in these last few years have
16 been very important and I will just remind you of
17 a few of them.

18 Firstly, the development of
19 transfer of payments and social assistance. The
20 first thing that hit the north was the family allowance
21 instituted in 1944 -- of course, that was an all-
22 Canadian phenomenon, and that was followed by the
23 old age pension, another all-Canadian phenomenon in
24 the early 1950's, but for the Natives of the North,
25 this gave the first financial subsidy that they ever
26 had to augment income from trapping and for the
27 great bulk of families, very little else, and this
28 was very important to families who other cash income
29 might be only \$200 or \$300 per year from trapping.
30 It gave a real kind of financial floor to the Native
and his opportunity to purchase goods from canned

...that the ...
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...life in ...
...been very important and I will ...

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...and ...

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1 milk on that were not available to him in terms of
2 his finances before.

3 Other programs of course
4 have developed since that time. Welfare relief pay-
5 ments, the T.B. allowance which is very important
6 for a number of years, blind persons allowance and
7 so forth. These were all developed and expanded in
8 the 1950's.

9 Health care is another
10 area that has had profound ramifications in Native
11 life. The establishment of Camshell Indian Hospital
12 in Edmonton in the 1940's plus the introduction of
13 the yearly TB x-ray program marked the beginning of
14 minimally adequate and responsible health care offered
15 to Natives.

16 One result of the generations
17 of absolute neglect of Native health -- there is
18 evidence in the fact that in 1956 one-seventh of the
19 entire Canadian Eskimo population were in a
20 TB sanitorium in the south. As R.J. Philips remarked,
21 you could find a bigger aggregation of Eskimo in a
22 TB sanitorium than anyplace in their native land.

23 The Indian population
24 figures for ten Mackenzie region trading posts that I
25 have been able to control provides some before and
26 after statistics for a more than a hundred year
27 period and I am here -- I am going to say controlled
28 because you have to watch it that you are dealing
29 with the same populations or their descendants
30 thereof through the time intervals and I think that

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1 I have been able to feel fairly sure that I have
2 done.

3
4 Between 1858 when Factor
5 Anderson for whom Anderson's Fort was named -- between
6 that period when he gave us a complete population
7 count on the basis of the Bay Company's records and
8 1941 -- that is like something 83 years --
9 the overall population in these ten forts declined
10 by 9%. Now, I had actually expected a bigger figure
11 because I knew of the terrible epidemics that had
12 swept through, but nonetheless, a 9% population loss
13 for a people in less than 100 years is potentially very
14 frightening.

15 Now, as I indicated, about
16 in the 1940's some health services began. From
17 1941 to 1970 for these same ten forts in their
18 populations, the population increased by 56%, so in
19 less than 30 years you have put an additional half
20 into your population, and in the preceding 83 years
21 you have lost 9%. I think that this is one
22 of the best indicators of what minimal attention to
23 the health of the people has meant.

24 Some of the statistics from
25 report to the next seem to vary. One report gives
26 rather sharp drops in the Dene and Inuit death rates
27 even
28 between/'62 to 1971, but they are still above the
29 national average. The national average of 7.3 deaths
30 per 1,000 in 1970 compares to the Indian average
in the Territories of 8.7 and the Eskimo figures of
11.3. Those figures were Canada at large, 7.3 for

1 1,000; Indian, 8.7 death rate; and Inuit, 11.2 --
2 so there still is a catch up to be achieved if the
3 Native health is to be at parity -- by such gross
4 statistics -- with that of the public at large. But
5 still in terms of those long term figures, a signif-
6 icant reflection of health care results.

7 Housing of course is another
8 area. Government subsidized housing for Indians
9 and Eskimos began in the '50's and really took off
10 in the 1960's and anyone who has seen the changes
11 in any settlement here in terms of housing, derived
12 from southern Canadian floor plans usually, you
13 are very impressed by it. In that decade also saw
14 electric lighting coming to such places as Rae, into
15 the Indian homes, oil heating becoming available for
16 many native homes.

17 But probably of all these
18 kinds of Government induced changes that occurred, none
19 is more important than that of education. It is
20 probably in this area of Government services that
21 will in the future have the greatest impact on Native
22 society. Again, a few figures derived from one of
23 the annual reports of the Northwest Territories.

24 In 1955, less than 15% of the school aged children of
25 the Northwest Territories had achieved any appreciable
26 amount of formal education and that 15 % represents
27 largely the white sector of the north. 1955, 15% of
28 the children had been exposed to some schooling.

29 That was the year that the Federal authorities
30 developed a program for education under a single

1 authority. So that by 1967 approximately 90% of
2 school aged children were enrolled in school. By the
3 end of the 1960's young men and women with secondary
4 school or college level education were returning to
5 their home communities fluent in English and sophis-
6 ticated to a greater extent than any of their parents
7 had achieved in the ways of southern Canadian
8 society.

9 Now, some of the consequences
10 -- the services and conveniences of an urbanized
11 setting, involving subsidized housing in many cases,
12 day school attendance by children and this is a
13 required attendance in many cases. These are all
14 pulls that have combined to encourage the native fami-
15 ly and the trapper husband to remain in the settlement
16 or town rather than living for weeks and months out
17 in the bush or the equivalent. Town living of
18 course requires substantially greater cash outlay for
19 food, fuel and so forth. The exposure to Southern
20 Canadian standards of living, through broader individual
21 experience, through the mass media and through the
22 educational system, has brought new levels of aspira-
23 tion in consumer standards.

24 Combined with this is the
25 growth of the Native population and these combinations
26 will, it seems to me, increase the social and
27 economic pressures that I feel are building at present
28 to a degree that would not have been identified 30
29 years ago.

30 Well, the long view --

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1 getting back before World War II into that fur and
2 mission era, what we can see is that the fur trade
3 brought the native peoples of the Territories
4 into sustained economic involvement with Western society.
5 That involvement, however, induced accommodation and
6 adjustment to aboriginal pre-contact patterns of man
7 to man and man to nature relationships, rather than
8 overthrowing those patterns. Native cultures continue
9 to emphasize on the land skills and also the social
10 ethics of aboriginal times.

11 The greatest threat to
12 traditional Indian and Eskimo outlook in values has
13 emerged only since World War II, in this form that
14 I have attempted to indicate of unparalleled pressures
15 and inducements toward urbanized standards and
16 styles of living.

17 Now, the question, I think
18 touched on by Professor Stager, that perhaps I should
19 briefly comment to, is that possible question,
20 well, if you have got an expanding Indian population
21 and the economy, let us say, , of the Territor-
22 ies is not keeping up, why don't they go out? Go
23 out permanently? That is certainly not happening
24 so far --

25 THE COMMISSIONER: To the
26 South, you mean?

27 A Yes, out -- in the
28 sense of the old outside -- south.

29 And I say that that is not
30 happening, if I may impose my interpretation of what

1 I consider to be the temper of the spirit of the
2 people, is that a long term, permanent outside
3 southern life means abandonment of one's society,
4 of one's sense of identity as a kind of people.
5 The sense of being one's people -- of being one of
6 a people and keeping your social connections in
7 terms of your kinsmen, your friends, your way of
8 life in tact, is one that anthropologists have long
9 noted in Southern Canadian and in American Indian
10 groups that have undergone much more severe pressure
11 than the people up here have yet experienced in
12 terms of the press of the western, European world.

13 The refusal to abandon
14 Indian identity can be met only by maintaining
15 contact with one's people and I would be surprised
16 very soon to see any substantial retreat from the
17 land here and the people here on the part of the
18 native people to southern areas where the objective
19 analyst might say much greater economic opportunity
20 awaits.

21 I will let John Stager
22 proceed.

23 DR. STAGER:

24 A Well, Mr. Commissioner,
25 I would like to, as quickly as possible try to give
26 some impressions of Native societies and I am afraid
27 that I am going to in some sense say some of the
28 things, perhaps in a little bit different way than
29 Professor Helm has, but please bear with me.

30 Perhaps the most significant

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1 change that has taken place for the natives in the
2 Northwest Territories as a whole since 1950 has been
3 the gradual move from the bush camps into settlement
4 living.

5 Now, there has been no overt
6 policy to force people off the land, but instead
7 facilities for helping native people cope with the
8 onslaught of white culture have to be placed in some
9 location or other and it is not unusual therefore
10 that building of a new government school at the
11 present settlement sites along the valley. This
12 to be sure there have been schools at some of these
13 places before, but the concerted effort to make the
14 education available to all children is a phenomenon
15 of the last twenty years.

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1 And as more and more children
2 were sent to school and persisted through the educational
3 stream to higher and higher degree -- grades, there
4 was an increasing attractiveness for their parents
5 and families to live within the settlement or at least
6 close by. Such an attractive force seems to me made
7 it increasingly difficult for native people to be on
8 the land, and away from their children in dormitories
9 in the major settlements.

10 Another factor is related to
11 the availability of health services, especially after
12 there was a better system of examination, diagnosis
13 and treatment. In the last ten years there has been a
14 concerted effort to improve the housing standards for
15 natives and federal and territorial housing plans have
16 further augmented this drive for settlement living.

17 Besides, governments have
18 become more regulatory, more bureaucratic, and I
19 doubt if there is a native person or at least the
20 head of household who has not signed some document in
21 the last couple of years. The consequence of all
22 these developments then is to the people that they
23 now live in or near settlements for the most part.

24 If one were to choose a single
25 government program for attention, it is the implementa-
26 tion of accelerated education programs probably^{that}/has
27 had the most far-reaching effect on native life. For
28 example, in the 1930's and '40's when schooling was
29 provided by missionaries, it was only available to a
30 select few and at that time bush life was the

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1 dominant form and the economic units were not
2 centred around a single wage-earner but depended on
3 the entire family. Children were valuable and as
4 they became older they had certain functions to perform.
5 So it's not surprising, I guess, that sort of surplus
6 individuals, sometimes girls, were the ones that were
7 allowed to stay with a missionary in order to receive
8 education. A few people who are now 45 years or older
9 are functionally literate in written English, but --
10 and many of them are able to speak English but are
11 unable to write it. There are exceptions to such a
12 generalization, I think in the delta it may be a little
13 different, the delta region, for example some of the
14 Eskimos had schooling in Alaska and are able to read
15 and write some English. Other people of this age
16 may be able to read a native language, I think I
17 can think of the example, the people of Old Crow who
18 can read their hymnbooks and Bibles which were
19 translated years ago by the Rev. Robert McDonald.

20 Generally speaking, however,
21 the skills of people 42 years or older do not lie in
22 the white man's way but rather in their understanding
23 of the land and the traditional pursuits of hunting
24 and trapping. People between the ages of 20 and 35
25 were children at the time of the introduction of this,
26 you know, extended education program, and then the
27 pressure to have children, all children in school was
28 in conflict with the seasonal movements of the native
29 trapper and hunter. As a consequence, living away from
30 the family, children had to be older before they were

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1 permitted to go into the school dormitories, and when
2 they were old enough to be of value in the camp they
3 were taken out of school. So that in the '60's it
4 seems that the average school-leaving age was around
5 Grade 6. Thus the people between the ages of 25
6 and 35 have had 1 to 6 years of formal education.
7 This means that they speak English well enough but
8 that they are at various stages of functional literacy
9 for writing and reading. Generally they have not passed
10 the sort of threshold of comfortable command of written
11 English. People who are now under the age of 25 and
12 more especially under the age of 20 have been brought
13 up with the new system of education and have probably
14 persisted through school to Grades 8, 9, 10 and 11,
15 and now we're finding many more completing Grade 12
16 and indeed going on to other things in the educational
17 way.

18 Native people with this
19 background can handle English comfortably and all its
20 modes of expression. Such educational skills are
21 increasingly important in today's society, of course,
22 from the point of view of employment and leadership
23 in the community. The use of native language has been
24 mentioned by Professor Helm, is, I think, decaying, and
25 she has indicated that the northern part of the valley
26 this is perhaps, you know, in a sadder state than in
27 the middle and upper Mackenzie. It is the consequence
28 of education being carried on in the English language
29 and the use of English in general, when children
30 were taken away from their homes and lived in school-

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1 based dormitories for much of the year; now that
2 schools are present in all the settlements, the number
3 of elementary level pupils living in dormitories has
4 declined and most young children, I think, now live
5 at home. This could have an effect of reinforcing the
6 language spoken in the home and help prevent the further
7 erosion of the use of native languages. Native
8 languages are still dominant in the smaller communities;
9 in centres like Inuvik and Fort Simpson and here in
10 Yellowknife there is of course a great deal more
11 pressure to converse in English. Elsewhere where the
12 white population is small, pressure doesn't exist to
13 the same extent.

14 Nevertheless, people in the
15 pipeline corridor region -- I should say the Mackenzie
16 corridor region -- are travelling more frequently and
17 as they are employed increasingly in the wage economy,
18 the need for communication in English is stronger.
19 I have no figures about the use of English in most of
20 the communities in the Mackenzie Valley, but in a recent
21 survey I made in the Village of Old Crow it showed that
22 37% of the people in Old Crow used Lushu regularly in
23 their homes. My impression is that the settlements
24 like Fort Franklin and Norman, Wrigley and Rae, that
25 the local native language used is at least 80% of the
26 time, used at 80% of the time.

27 The discussion about changes
28 in education and the level of education reached by
29 various segments of the community and the concern for
30 the use of native language has preceded any remarks

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1 made, that I might make about the general aspects of
2 the way of life of the people in the region. In a
3 sense, the survey of the level of education in the
4 native sector of the community, I believe, gives some
5 indication of the ease with which a transition from
6 land-based activity to settlement-oriented, the white
7 way of life can occur, and perhaps even has occurred
8 in the region. By this I mean to pin-point a change of
9 way of life to satisfy economic necessities. Schooling
10 has not, I believe, prepared people for the social
11 and cultural adjustments that they meet in the settle-
12 ments and living with either part or full-time wage
13 jobs. Those who have never been to school or were
14 in school for only a short period of time, essentially
15 had the education of the hunter-trapper. They know
16 best the physical and biological nature of their
17 territory, and they possess the skills to support
18 themselves and their families in an environment that
19 does not give up easily. Life on the land is not
20 simple but requires sophisticated knowledge, long
21 experience and wisdom. It is probably fair to generalize
22 that the young people today, those at least in the
23 upper levels of High School or who have recently left,
24 do not possess the same knowledge or experience to
25 live off the land as their parents or grandparents.

26 I think it's true that life
27 in the bush and on the coast is extremely hard physi-
28 cally, is lacking in comfort, and the monetary returns
29 from fur trapping are not as dependable and with some
30 exceptions are frequently meagre. It is not surprising

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1 that young people turn to wage employment. The choice
2 to be made is further conditioned by changes in the
3 communications in the valley, the increased pace of
4 exploration activity, that is industrial activity in
5 the last ten years, and the regular passage of jet
6 planes and increasing visits of search teams both from
7 industry and business and tourists, all have increased
8 awareness of the white man's culture. In most settle-
9 ments now the base store is relatively sophisticated
10 array of necessities as well as lots of things that
11 are not so necessary, moreover movies are available
12 in each community, and local radio stations and T.V.
13 provide day-long windows to the dominant society.

14 The point is that people
15 living in the Mackenzie corridor region, in spite of
16 their relative isolation compared to southern population
17 of Canada, and even in spite of isolation locally,
18 are all pretty much aware of the material culture of
19 southern society. Indeed, people find it appealing
20 and it is largely available through entry to the
21 wage economy. The quickening pace of development and
22 the increase in the number of jobs and up to the last
23 couple of years anyway, the decline in the economic
24 returns from trapping has accelerated this change.

25 I think it is important to
26 note, though, that when living off the land that
27 trapping is not the whole story. The value of the
28 land in producing country food remains high for the
29 domestic economy of native families. I found, for
30 example, in Old Crow that 50% of the people in that

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1 community receive more than half of their, you know,
2 food intake from the land, in the season of 1973.

3 Now if I may focus --

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
5 what was that again?

6 A Well, 50% of the people
7 in Old Crow, you know in the trapping and hunting
8 season of 1973, received more than half of their food
9 from the land.

10 Now if I may focus down on the
11 delta region a bit, as can be seen from this overview
12 statement, most of the opportunities to move into the
13 wage employment have existed for people living in the
14 delta of the Mackenzie. After Inuvik was built it
15 was meant to be something of a model town and the
16 government developed significant facilities in the
17 community, and it became a regional focus for education,
18 health and government services for the Western Arctic.
19 Most jobs of a permanent nature were generated in
20 support of these activities, and some people were
21 drawn to Inuvik from surrounding areas.

22 We should remember also that
23 many of the Eskimos in the region had their origins
24 in Alaska and they had a somewhat longer experience in
25 contact with white culture. Now the net result is
26 that over the past 20 years the native population in
27 the delta region, especially the delta region, I
28 think it's fair to say, is much more aware of and use the
29 white man's ways.

30 Very few places are without

J. Helm
J.T. Stager
In Chief

1 -- even in the small communities -- without two or
2 three teachers, a nurse, perhaps an economic or
3 social development officer or something, maybe even
4 an anthropologist, and a co-op manager and a clergyman.
5 All of these people form part of the intra-structure
6 of the small communities, and associated with these
7 facilities are, of course, a number of service functions.
8 They need to have somebody for their janitors for the
9 school, an assistant to the nursing station, and
10 somebody to drive the Territorial truck, and another
11 person to look after the freight that arrives by
12 plane or the airline agent, you know, these sorts of
13 things, all provide opportunities for either full-time
14 or part-time employment.

15 Thus it is possible for natives
16 living in small communities, at least a number of them,
17 to supplement their income and still be able to live
18 partly off the land. Those who do not wish to depend
19 solely on game and trapping and are anxious to have
20 full-time wage employment, tend to grab a plane for
21 Inuvik. Even this location is really not too far
22 from many of the surrounding delta communities and
23 the migration is possible without, you know, major
24 family upsets, especially now that travel is fairly
25 easy.

26 As the oil play has developed
27 in the region, more and more people have taken advant-
28 age of casual and full-time employment with the
29 companies. Doubtless the hearings will be presented
30 with figures to show how important wage employment is

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1 in the Mackenzie Valley corridor. Frequently it is
2 implied that if the level of the cash income is in-
3 creased for each family, that the level of happiness and
4 general well-being is also increased. What we have to
5 recall that among the native people there are still
6 many of them who are born or brought up in the bush way
7 of life, and they have seen a remarkable change. For
8 ~~tem~~ it is fair to suggest that their own security or
9 peace of mind or however you wish to phrase it, is less
10 well served by the ways of the industrial society than
11 in the ways of the aboriginal society or the traditional
12 society.

13 It's, I think, true to suggest
14 that the leaders of native societies nowadays are not
15 prepared to accept the thesis that they must choose
16 either between the bush or wages, but they will make
17 their own intervention on that point. May I take a
18 brief moment to speak about the whites in the north
19 and especially in the Inuvik region.

20 This is a white man's town,
21 it has been said, originally designed to focus the
22 government activities. It became the permanent residence
23 for many of the Civil Servants. Early plans provided
24 for almost every function, and it was not really expec-
25 ted that the private sector would have a very large
26 role in the life of the community. But as the town
27 grew, more private entrepren^{eur} moved in and a significant
28 segment of leadership in the white community comes from
29 residents with no connection to government but who have
30 made the north their home for many years. At first

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1 the Civil Servant component of the white community was
2 nearly all federal employees, and after many functions
3 were moved to the Territorial Government in the capital
4 of Yellowknife in '67, there developed in Inuvik consid-
5 erable bureaucracy of Territorial Government employees
6 as well, and of course the federal component did not
7 entirely disappear. This is the waning syndrome that
8 was referred to -- I'm sorry, the waxing syndrome that
9 was referred to by Professor Helm.

10 Many of these people have
11 high turnover rates and tend to move north and then
12 satisfy whatever urge brought them there in the first
13 place, and then return to southern society. Moreover,
14 as government individuals move up to the higher levels
15 of responsibility, the opportunities for promotion are
16 not necessarily in Inuvik.

17 Another segment of the white
18 society in Inuvik is the military. Canadian Forces
19 maintains an establishment there with their families
20 and they move, you know, they come and stay two or
21 three years for posting. Their commitment to the
22 community is only peripheral, is only a peripheral one
23 and takes the form of interest in sports and similar
24 events. There is a certain self-contained type of
25 life that the military people and their families
26 experience.

27 Let me close by saying that
28 the inter-section between white and native portions of
29 the community on a day to day basis is usually concerned
30 with either employment or other business arrangements

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1 required by the government and other government
2 regulations, let's say, and I think it's true to
3 suggest that the social contact between the two groups
4 is minimal.

5 Now, Mr. Commissioner, permit
6 me a chauvinistic remark and allow the lady to have
7 the last word.

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In Chief

1 MS. HELM: I have the social
2 scientists' or social historians' urge to look at some
3 aspect of a big picture, and I
4 want to do it very briefly just in terms of pointing out
5 that earlier this morning I spoke of the inception of
6 a dual economy for the native peoples of the Territory
7 after the advent of the fur trader in which the former
8 100% aboriginal way of life was accommodated to take
9 in a certain degree of fur procurement in order to
10 gain the necessary -- receive the necessary tools of
11 western technology. What I've been seeing, I think,
12 in the last few years is another kind of dual economy
13 emerging, and one that still puts the man on the land,
14 not every man, but puts a somewhat different way --
15 instead of trapping plus hunting, it now is wage work
16 plus trapping-hunting. Persons who may be efficient
17 and effective full-time wage laborers -- and I know a
18 few from personal acquaintance -- may work for several
19 years at a full-time job in the white idiom, in the
20 mines, for example; but then will retreat from it for
21 a period of years, or alternatively as Professor
22 Stager suggests, the use of even full-time work or
23 part-time work for cash income and still taking
24 country game, country food from the land in your free
25 hours. I think what's going on here, and I can
26 be corrected by later lady speakers, I think what
27 sustains commitment to this sort of new dual economy,
28 if I can put it that way, is the strong traditional
29 value of living in intimate relation to the land and
30 its sustenance as well as a sense of accomplishment
and prestige that derives from effective bushcraft, or

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1 I guess I could say coastcraft as well. So you find
2 very enterprising and energetic men who eagerly seize
3 jobs for cash income in season, and then will retreat
4 from them by week or by month to return to a more
5 land oriented experience.

6 Combined with these values
7 I think tied in with them more subtly but no less
8 important one is that an involvement in reaping the
9 harvest of the land will fall then within the tradi-
10 tional mode of co-operation & aid between kinsmen and
11 between members of the small communities, and in the
12 small bush camps, these may be almost one and the
13 same.

14 You've got an effective co-
15 operative labor force and a distribution force;
16 in the small community, even today, the moose kill is
17 distributed to everybody, every family. The removal
18 into large urban centres or all-male work camps of
19 course pulls a man apart from traditional
20 kin and community sentiments and tends to deprive
21 the household as a whole from full sharing in both
22 the bush resources and wage income. But to return
23 to this value of the traditional mode of inter-action
24 in both your image of the man, the person on the land
25 and the women too who love the land, in the setting
26 of your community and your kinsmen I think brings back
27 that earlier point I made, the concern to maintain
28 one's identity and allegiance to one's own people.

29 Any economic opportunity as
30 seen by the economist as an opportunity, I think has

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1 to be weighed and I think is being weighed against the
2 possible losses that the individual may experience in
3 terms of his cultural and social commitments and
4 allegences to his own people. In other words, the
5 commitment to remain an Inuit or a Dene in the full
6 meaning of those words to the people who apply them
7 to themselves. Thank you.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
9 very much, Dr. Helm and Dr. Stager. The renown of
10 each of you as scholars in your respective fields
11 preceded you and I am immensely grateful to both of
12 you for having come to these overview hearings to
13 speak to us. Thank you very much.

14 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Scott?

16 MR. SCOTT: Could we adjourn
17 now until two o'clock?

18 THE COMMISSIONER: All right,
19 we stand adjourned until two o'clock.

20 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)
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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Before we begin
I just wish to read a letter that I received this morning from Madam Jean Sauve, the Minister of the Environment in the Government of Canada. Madam Sauve has this morning advised the Parliamentary Committee on Forestry and Fisheries that she has sent this letter to the Inquiry. Her letter is dated March 6, 1975, addressed to Honourable Mr. Justice T.R. Berger, Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, Yellowknife:

"Dear Mr. Justice Berger:

I am concerned that an impression is being created that I do not intend to co-operate fully with your Inquiry into the terms and conditions that should be imposed in respect of any right-of-way that might be granted across Crown lands. Any such impression is wholly false. It is my intention to ensure that any participant in the Inquiry has access to all relevant documents and reports in the possession of my Department that the participant may require subject only to any privilege that I may be obliged to claim.

It is also my intention to ensure that no obstacle is placed by officials of my Department in the way of any participant who wishes to consult with any employee of my Department whose knowledge of environmental matters the participant may wish

1 to introduce as evidence by calling such
2 employee as a witness. I propose to make
3 public the text of this letter after you
4 have received it.

5 Yours sincerely,

6 'MADAM JEAN SAUVE.'

7 M r. Scott?

8 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
9 it might be useful before we begin this afternoon's
10 panel if I reviewed the balance of the overview
11 program that will terminate this week.

12 Apart from this afternoon's
13 panel we will be sitting tomorrow and Saturday morning.
14 Tomorrow Dr. Hamelin will appear first dealing with
15 Territorial Government, and then we have a substantial
16 panel to follow which should take a good part of the
17 day from the native organizations in which the follow-
18 ing persons will participate: James Wah-shee,
19 Sam Raddi, Richard Hardy, representing the various
20 native groups in the valley and delta; and Fred
21 Andrew, Vital Bonnetrouge and Jim Wokie. I anticipate
22 that that panel will take a substantial part of the
23 day.

24 On Saturday there will be
25 two overview presentations of particular importance
26 and I say regretably perhaps, of particular controversy
27 -- C.D. Bayly will provide an overview of the natural
28 gas industry and R. Leggett an overview of northern
29 construction. We anticipate that that will conclude
30 the overview at or before lunch on Saturday.

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In Chief

1 Now, Mr. Commissioner, as
2 my colleagues, the major participants know, the panel
3 this afternoon is human environment, and the panelists
4 are Professor Stewart Jamieson, Mr. Tom Espie, and
5 Mr. Wes McArthur. Before Mr. McArthur is sworn, I
6 want to express on behalf of Commission counsel our
7 particular gratitude to him, not to say we won't be
8 grateful to the others, but our original panelist
9 this afternoon was intended to be Jim Robertson, the
10 Mayor of Inuvik, but yesterday he notified us that he
11 was ill and would be unable to come, and I'm parti-
12 cularly grateful to Mr. MacAleer for filling
13 in on what is extremely short notice, so short that
14 until one minute ago I didn't know how to pronounce
15 his name. I hope you'll accept my apology for that,
16 but Mr. Roland has been busy correcting me.

17 I think the best thing to do
18 is if the three panelists came forward and were sworn
19 I could then qualify them and they can present their
20 overview in whatever way they think best.

21
22 STEWART JAMIESON, sworn:

23 JOHN WESTON MacALEER, sworn:

24 THOMAS HENRY ESPIE, sworn:

25 MR. SCOTT: Would you gentlemen
26 like to sit down so you will be nearer the microphones?

27 THE SECRETARY: Will you give
28 your full name, please?

29 THE WITNESS JAMIESON: Stewart
30 Jamieson.

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THE WITNESS MacALEER:

John Weston MacAleer.

THE WITNESS ESPIE: Thomas

Henry Espie.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Mr. MacAleer, a geographic
note first. I understand that you're from Prince Edward
Island.

A I am.

Q And you're what is called
an in-migrant, is that correct? I think that's what
the anthropologist call you, an in-migrant. You
came to the Territory about six years ago.

(LAUGHTER)

A So did McArthur.

Q One nothing.

(LAUGHTER)

And you came to the Territories about six years ago,
is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And where have you
resided since you came here?

A In Yellowknife.

Q And I understand that
you're a business man here?

A That's correct.

Q Mr. Roland has shown
me that you are engaged in a number of businesses, one
of them -- and these are not commercials, Mr. Commis-
sioner, these are backgrounders -- that you're

1 Mackenzie Media Limited, which is cable television in
2 the area, is that correct?

3 A Yes.

4 Q Westmac Agencies Limited,
5 which is insurance and real estate?

6 A Yes.

7 Q And Westmac Homes
8 Limited, house-building.

9 A Yes.

10 Q And I understand also that
11 you have been two years on the School Board in this
12 municipality.

13 A Yes.

14 Q And two years on the
15 Yellowknife City Council.

16 A Yes.

17 Q Mr. Jamieson, I
18 understand that you're a Bachelor of Arts from the
19 University of British Columbia in Economics.

20 WITNESS JAMIESON: Yes.

21 Q An M.A. from McGill
22 in sociology.

23 A Yes.

24 Q And a Ph.D from the
25 University of California, Berkley, in economics.

26 A That's right.

27 Q Yes, and that you have
28 engaged in a number of research projects associated
29 with problems of economic development and employment
30 of native Indians.

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In Chief

1 A Yes.

2 Q And in 1954 in particular
3 you participated and prepared a study of British
4 Columbia Indians which was published in 1957 by the
5 University of Toronto Press.

6 A Yes.

7 Q And that from 1964 to
8 1966 in association with Professor Hawthorne, you
9 did a cross-Canada study for the Department of Indian
10 Affairs related particularly insofar as you were
11 concerned to factors affecting economic development.

12 A Yes.

13 Q And that in 1962 you did
14 a study for the Manitoba Government again in co-opera-
15 tion with Professor Hawthorne on Northern Manitoba
16 Indians which is called Native Peoples and Economic
17 Development of Northern Manitoba.

18 A (Nods)

19 Q And I take it, I under-
20 stand that you also participated in a substantial
21 symposium on development in the north a number of years
22 ago that was sponsored by the Department of Indian
23 Affairs & Northern Development.

24 A On the north? No.

25 Q I think the symposium
26 was called, "Symposium on Development in the North,"
27 wasn't it?

28 A No, that was a symposium
29 I should explain it was sponsored by the University
30 of British Columbia just about a year ago. I think

1 what you're referring to is a cross-Canada study of
2 '66-'68 which was sponsored by the Department of
3 Indian Affairs.

4 Q Thank you very much.

5 Mr. Espie, I understand that
6 you are an M.A. from Oxford.

7 WITNESS ESPIE: That's correct.

8 Q And a Ph.D. in economics
9 from the University of Denver.

10 A That would be in economic
11 development.

12 Q Economic development,
13 and how have you been engaged for the past three years?

14 A As the director of the
15 Department of Economic Development of the Territorial
16 Government here in Yellowknife.

17 Q I take it that you are
18 an employee of the Territorial Government, not of the
19 Government of Canada.

20 A That's correct.

21 Q And I take it that
22 prior to that you were engaged in development programs
23 with the Canadian Association for Rural Development.
24 Is that correct?

25 A
26 Well, it's not exactly that, I was the executive
27 director of the Canadian Council on Rural Development
28 which advises the Department of Regional Economic
29 Expansion on Rural Development Policies.

30 Q How long did you occupy
that position?

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In Chief

1 A I think four years.

2 Q Well now, gentlemen, I
3 understand from you that Professor Jamieson is to
4 begin, is that correct?

5 WITNESS JAMIESON: Mr.

6 Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I am grateful for
7 the opportunity to participate in these hearings as
8 I feel strongly that there are certain perspectives
9 concerning the subject of economic development in the
10 Yukon and Northwest Territories which should be
11 stressed at the outset of any such Inquiry as you're
12 now conducting.

13 Now I should hasten to add
14 that the analysis that I am presenting is strictly my
15 own, as an interested citizen. It's a product
16 purely of my own research, study and research, and of
17 consultations and exchanges with fellow researchers,
18 mainly economists and anthropologists and university
19 and in certain branches of the Civil Service. If
20 my conclusions happen to coincide at some points with
21 those held by other interested individuals or
22 groups that may appear before you at one time or
23 another, I can assure you that it is by happenstance
24 rather than by prior design, consultation or commit-
25 ment.

26 Now in accepting the kind
27 invitation to present my analysis, I wasn't quite
28 sure what the format would be. At any rate I have
29 prepared a brief, an outline of some of the main--
30 several major points that I'd like to make, some rather

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1 and^{other} broad generalizations which I will back up as far
2 as possible with statistical data derived from official
3 publications and reports.

4 Now I'll be referring to
5 these sources, they're almost entirely official research
6 reports. Now with regard to the subject of economic
7 development in the north generally, and with certain
8 developmental projects in particular, several broad
9 and fundamental questions should be asked at the out-
10 set, and unfortunately a good deal of development
11 here has been sanctioned and carried out without such
12 questions being raised, on the grand assumption that
13 economic development is good in and of itself and
14 presumed to be in the public interest as long as it
15 results in some sort of measurable surplus or gain,
16 such as increased profits, more tax revenues, or grea-
17 ter employment, and so on. More output at lower prices for
18 consumers.

19 Now such assumptions are no
20 longer acceptable at their face value. We now have
21 to ask such questions as: What is the purpose of
22 such development, and in whose interests is it to
23 be carried out? What groups or interests should have
24 the priority of claims? How and in what proportions
25 should the gains be shared? What group interests are
26 likely to be hurt and on what respects? How are
27 policies to be determined? What interests are to share
28 in the decision-making, and by what mechanism? What
29 time perspective is envisaged, is the developmental
30 project to maximize over all gain in the short run,

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1 over the next few years, or should it extend over a
2 longer period of decades or generations in the future?
3 By what criteria is the efficiency of a developmental
4 project to be measured?

5 Now I'm not going to attempt
6 to answer all such controversial questions in this
7 brief presentation. They have already been the
8 subject of intensive research, much of it far from com-
9 plete as yet; but such questions obviously have to be
10 kept in mind for they are inter-related and will
11 determine the final result. Well now, for instance,
12 if the main purpose of let's say a gas or oil pipeline
13 or a large-scale mining operation is viewed as obtain-
14 ing the largest possible output at the minimum direct
15 cost, so as to maximize total returns on capital and/
16 or achieve the lowest prices to the final consumer,
17 then probably the most efficient method by orthodox
18 accounting standards would be to complete the project
19 in the shortest possible time that technological,
20 market/^{if} climatic constraints would allow, while using
21 imported labor and capital almost entirely.

22 On the other hand, let's say
23 the main purpose of such a project were viewed as
24 being to maximize the welfare of northern residents,
25 it might well be that a more costly policy by orthodox
26 accounting standards would be more preferable. Such
27 a policy would involve a program at, say one, delay in
28 launching the project for several years; two, once
29 undertaken would spread construction over a longer
30 period so as to maximize income and employment for

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1 northern residents; (3) use a smaller diameter pipe-
2 line in the case of gas or oil or a smaller scale
3 mining operation as in the case of minerals, so as to
4 conserve the resource and yield a smaller revenue per
5 annum over a longer period of time into the future.
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S. Jamieson
T.H. ESpie
J.W. MacAleer
In Chief

1333

1 Now these of course are
2 merely two of several possible scenarios and a larger
3 number of variables would obviously have to be
4 taken into account.

5 Now, fortunately, our
6 analysis for these questions of mine can be focused
7 and simplified by official statements of policy
8 which seem to assert with some clarity ~~some~~ certain
9 major goals and requirements.

10 The previous Minister of
11 Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Honourable
12 Jean Cretien stated the following in the conclusion
13 to his keynote address to a seminar on guidelines
14 for scientific activities in northern Canada,
15 1972. I believe that it was this seminar that you
16 were referring.

17 This was published in a
18 volume called Science and the North. The seminar
19 was sponsored by the Sub-committee on Science and
20 Technology, Advisory Committee on Northern
21 Development of the Department of Indian Northern
22 Affairs and held at Mount Galoriel Quebec in --
23 On October 15, 1972.

24 To quote Mr. Chretien
25 "There is one thing that I should say. It
26 is something that you have heard before
27 and it is discussed in the papers that
28 have been sent to you, but it cannot
29 be said too often and I hope it will be
30 foremost in your thoughts throughout the

1 seminar.. It is that what matters most is
2 the people. How can the conditions of life
3 be improved for the people of the North and
4 what we are finding to be equally important,
5 how can this be done in ways that they
6 themselves want, rather than ways that we
7 have predetermined. Whether you are
8 considering technology, the environment
9 or resources, the benefits that research
10 can bring to the people of the North is
11 paramount. This is the Government's first
12 objective and the one on which it places
13 the highest priority."

14 Page 9, Science of the North. Now, in this connec-
15 tion, earlier in his address the Minister had to
16 stress:

17 "My own department has special responsibilities
18 for Indian and eskimo affairs and for the
19 development of Northern resources."

20 Now, this statement seems to stress three main
21 principles which should be kept in mind throughout
22 the analysis that I will be presenting.

23 One, the highest priority
24 in development policy of the North is or should be
25 to improve the conditions of the people, particularly
26 of
27 the majority who are/native background.

28 Two, to achieve this
29 goal requires finding out what they want rather than
30 imposing predetermined notions of welfare upon them.

Three, these and other goals

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1 of development require careful and exhaustive
2 research beforehand in order to make possible the
3 implementation of policies that can best achieve them.

4 Now, I am going to state
5 flatly and safely at the outset that the development
6 policy on the North to date has fallen far short of
7 meeting these standards or guidelines laid down by
8 Mr. Chretien and it is an open question as to what
9 degree they are presently being implemented in the
10 major developmental projects now being planned or
11 underway.

12 Now, most pertinent to
13 the assessment that I am presenting here for instance,
14 is a serious lack of reliable statistical estimates
15 and indices necessary to assure the scope of past --
16 necessary to assess the scope of past and present
17 economic developments than their impacts upon
18 the population, the sort of data commonly available
19 for other parts of Canada.

20 Serious lack of important
21 information has been noted in several official
22 research studies and reports. Among these are
23 the Canadian Government's Environmental, Social
24 Committee on Northern Pipelines, and just to
25 quote that document, which I will be referring
26 to again, the impact of the Northern Pipeline,
27 for instance, this official committee states:

28 "No generally accepted population and
29 lever force estimates for the North-
30 west Territories exists even in total

1 or for the geographic regions con-
2 sidered necessary for this study."

3 That surprised me and they go on to state how they
4 had to arrive at their estimates.

5 Or again, John Palmer, who
6 in 1973 prepared on behalf of the Department of
7 Indian Affairs, Northern Development, the first, at
8 all, over adequate, overall picture of the economy
9 of the Northwest region, which as I take it, the
10 main terms of reference this afternoon, the
11 overview, in his measurement of the value of
12 economic activity of the north. That is this
13 rather impressive looking volume here and Palmer
14 on page 12, the introduction to his study states:

15 "The accounts build on the recognition
16 that economic statistics should relate
17 with each other in a consistent manner.
18 Important pieces of data are not available
19 which would further improve the accounts
20 if they could be gathered. It is strongly
21 recommended that action be taken to
22 overcome the following missing links in
23 our Northern statistical knowledge:

24 A) measures of cash income of the
25 Indian and Inuit population by
26 year. Without these it is not
27 possible to evaluate changes
28 in living standards or the
29 way of life of the native pop-
30 ulation of the North.

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1
2 B) Improved measures related to
3 the net value of hunted pro-
4 duce in the North. Without these
5 it is not possible to comprehen-
6 sively evaluate the economic im-
7 pact of northern development on
8 the tradional sector, though
9 as we will see there are estimates
10 made of this.

11 C) measures of net income and other
12 financial data related to all
13 local business in the Territories
14 and particularly Native owned
15 business. If Northern develop-
16 ment expands the industrial base
17 of the North, the measurement of
18 these sectors becomes increasingly
19 urgent.

20 D) Measures of changing prices in the
21 North. Without this it is not
22 possible to understand the impact
23 of inflation on the money values
24 used in the accounts."

25 So as we can see, it is extremely difficult,
26 indeed impossible to get adequate overview today --
27 or let's say as of last year, of the Northern
28 economy as a whole.

29 The only adequate statistice
30 on employment and incomes of native and other Northern
residents in relation to regional accounts, over all

1 regional accounts, are from a special financial sur-
2 vey of the Northwest Territories for 1969 and a
3 manpower Survey of the Mackenzie District in 1969 and
4 '70.

5 Later, more detailed
6 research studies by a committee sponsored by the
7 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development,
8 that I will be quoting from, that attempt to assess
9 the possible impact of, for instance the proposed
10 gas pipeline on the Northern economy, have had to
11 be based largely on projections of statistics collated
12 in those years-- that is, 1969 -70 and assessed by
13 estimates of growth to the present position, but
14 assessed in terms of the 1969-70 dollars.

15 Now, I mention these
16 limitations partly in way of explanation for some
17 I feel unavoidable inadequacies in my presentation,
18 as well as others that I will be quoting, but mainly it
19 is far more important to stress the dangers of
20 launching any major developmental project before
21 such basic economic and social, let alone ecological
22 and environmental research data are available to
23 be able to assess adequately the possible impacts
24 of the project.

25 Now, so much by way of pre-
26 liminary explanation, what follows is a brief and
27 admittedly oversimplified picture of the Northern
28 economy as a whole and I wish to focus on particularly
29 the position of the native people in that economy.

30 The gist of it is that

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1 Northern development to date has definitely not met
2 the Minister, Chretien , of Indian Affairs,
3 objective of giving top priority to the well being
4 of the northern people, particularly the native
5 majority.

6 Well now -- the north-
7 western region, the northern region encompassing
8 the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, comprises
9 what might be classed as a heavily subsidized
10 colonial type economy. Now I should stress the
11 word "colonial" is used here in a descriptive rather
12 than a pejorative or a derogatory sense.

13 As an economic historian
14 of sorts it resembles in several broad respects
15 numerous colonial economies that were developed
16 during the 17th, 18th, early 19th centuries, such
17 as the colony of New France in Quebec under the Oncein
18 Regime. There is a notable difference perhaps, that
19 the native population played a considerably more
20 active role in that economy than they appear to
21 be doing in the present day economy.

22 Now, the main features
23 of a subsidized colonial type economy is as follows:

24 First, the region is
25 highly specialized -- there are only one or two
26 staple resources, resource products, that require
27 large amounts of capital investment from outside
28 to develop and produce for export. Characteristically
29 total exports far exceed total consumption within
30 the economy. Now, in the north these are -- have been

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1 for several years -- namely non-renewable resources,
2 mainly lead and zinc and a rather increasing impor-
3 tance in recent years: oil and gas.

4 The value of minerals
5 exported from the Yukon and the Northwest Territories
6 in 1970, for instance, of 121.6 million, far
7 exceeded the 109 million total consumer expenditures
8 within the region that year. These are quoting
9 figures presented by Palmer.

10 Secondly, By far the
11 major share of income derived from exports likewise
12 leave the northern region in payment for interest on
13 principal and profit on outside capital, taxes and royalties
14 to external government and wages and salaries to
15 non-resident labour.

16 Third, the region is
17 thus not able, in effect, to pay for itself. It imports
18 far more than it exports and suffers large annual
19 deficits in trade with the rest of Canada.
20 Now, in 1970 for instance while total exports
21 including tourist expenditures amounted to
22 139 million, total imports are more than double
23 amounting to almost 385 million. Indeed, total
24 imports were some 26% greater than the entire gross
25 domestic product, that is entire gross value of all
26 output within the Northern territories, export and
27 consumed of some 266 million. A very unusual
28 economy indeed.

29 Now, to cover this com-
30 paratively huge annual deficit, the Northern

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1 Territories -- my fourth point -- depend upon:

2 A) large annual investments
3 of public as well as private capital from outside;
4 and

5 B) more importantly, aggregate
6 to date, large and rapidly growing federal government
7 subsidies and expenditures. These are to provide:
8 1) essential facilities and services to the resident
9 population and 2) an infrastructure of facilities
10 and services to support and encourage private capital
11 investment in the resource industries. For instance,
12 public investment to encourage the development,
13 specifically to encourage the development of lead
14 and zinc mining in Pine Point alone, for instance,
15 amounted to almost a \$104 million.

16 So all told, the Federal
17 Government expenditures constitute the largest
18 single industry in the North. We have heard all
19 this before, but just to illustrate. It is the largest
20 employer and most important single source of income.
21 During 1970,, for instance, the total of Federal
22 Government expenditures in the North including
23 subsidies to the Territorial Governments amounted
24 to almost \$180 million, while total outside capital
25 came to a little over \$136 million.

26 Fifth, these spending
27 expenditures constitute in effect a vehicle for provi-
28 ding employment for a large and rapidly growing numbers
29 of more or less specialized personnel brought in from
30 the outside to administer, man and service the

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1 increasingly complex economic, political and social
2 structure that has evolved to deal with the multitude
3 of special and costly problems that it has generated.

4 Sixth, the population of
5 Native or aboriginal background still constitu-
6 ting a majority of the population, plays a minor
7 and relatively decreasing role in the economy that
8 has developed as far as one can measure. The tradi-
9 tional resource based activities that were once
10 basic to the native economy, mainly hunting, fishing,
11 trapping -- have declined in relative importance,
12 they account for only a little over 3% of the gross
13 domestic product of the Northwest Territories in
14 1969 and hardly more than one-quarter of total native
15 income from all sources including the imputed value
16 of game consumed.

17 Now, while you are facing
18 erosion and decline in their traditional resource
19 base activities and relatively becoming more dependent
20 upon paid employment and transfer payments, financed
21 by outside private and public expenditures, natives
22 generally have lacked the skills, technology, contacts,
23 ownership of capital or other requirements for becoming
24 effectively integrated, as the phrase goes, into the
25 new economy that has been imposed upon the region.

26 More than two-thirds of the
27 total income of the native population is derived from
28 wage and salaried employment, but this consists pre-
29 dominantly from jobs in the low-paid, unskilled,
30 casual, seasonal or part-time categories. Now, again

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1 this is based on the 1969 -70 surveys. The Manpower
2 Survey on the Mackenzie District in 1969-70 for in-
3 stance found that almost 48% or almost one-half of
4 the natives in wage employment worked for only 4 to 24
5 weeks per anum and 15% for 25 to 50 weeks --
6 25 to 40 weeks. Only 31% or less than one-third
7 worked a full 46 to 52 weeks as compared to
8 71% of other resident workers.

9 Averaged family incomes as
10 of 69 were found to be \$2,568 for Indians, \$4,643 for
11 Eskimos and \$5,136 for Metis : -- considerably less
12 than one-third and one-half respectively (Indians
13 and Eskimos) and a little over one-half for Metis ,
14 the average of \$9,748 for other residents.
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1 No less than 78% of natives in
2 the Mackenzie district had incomes of less than 4,000
3 per annum. Which in terms of generally high prices
4 in the Northern Territories represented poverty standards.
5 Now that could perhaps be challenged in view of the
6 housing subsidy that's available, but that's something
7 that is exceedingly difficult to measure. Only 1%
8 of native families of the Mackenzie District had
9 incomes of more than 10,000 per annum at that time, as
10 compared to 22% for whites. All told then, the natives
11 in the Northwest Territories, while in numbers more than
12 one half the total population during 1969 received only
13 11.2 million dollars or hardly more than one fifth of
14 the total 50.1 million of earned cash income. Or
15 only one eighth of the gross territorial product of
16 89.2 million. That representing the net value of
17 output and income of all kinds in the Territory that
18 year.

19 Now if the computed value of
20 game consumed, which was estimated in this survey at
21 3.6 million were added to the earned income of the
22 population this would raise it's share to about 27%
23 and 16% respectively. Now there's also this matter of
24 the imputed value of housing, subsidised by government
25 which amounted to roughly 3.2 million. Now, not
26 including this in this item in this comparison between
27 native and non-native resident income, because there are
28 no comparable estimate of housing and subsidies for the
29 non-native population has been available, reputedly it's
30 a large item, it could conceivably be as large as that

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1 for the native population.

2 The seventh then, in brief
3 the economic structure that is being developed in the
4 Northern Territories in recent years has evolved into
5 what appears to be a fairly rigid caste system, in which
6 the non-native part of the population which is main-
7 tained at relatively high levels of earnings, largely
8 from non-resident capital investments and government
9 expenditures, while the native majority are locked into
10 positions of inferior income and status. The
11 rigidity of the system tends to be reinforced where
12 such sharp differences in income and status, largely
13 coincide with racial and cultural differences, and in
14 some communities, a high degree of residential segregation.
15 Though we of course have some outstanding examples of
16 individuals among most native groups who have risen
17 high in the establishment structure.

18 Now eighth, using conventional
19 tools of economic analysis, one can safely predict
20 therefore that as long as the prevailing economic structure
21 and policies continued, major new developments in the
22 North financed by outside private capital and or by
23 public expenditure, will generate little new income
24 and employment for the resident population. And only
25 a small fraction of that little, in turn, will go to the
26 native majority. Or to put it another way, capital
27 investments and public expenditure have a very limited
28 multiplier effect, to use economic terminology, or
29 spin-off effect as they more commonly call it, in the
30 North, due to the unusually large leakages or return

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flows of income out of the North to pay for interest on profits and capital, direct and indirect taxes to the Federal Government, and wages and salaries to non-resident labour, together with the large outlays for imports of all kinds which I have pointed out, vastly exceed exports in dollar volume.

Now, to take the example, in the Northwest Territories during 1969, there were Federal Government expenditures of 81.7 million, and non-resident capital investments of 123.5 million. There is something a little over 200 million dollars then altogether in outside expenditure into the North. This generated earned cash income amounting to only 50.09 million, of which only 11.1 million was received by the native population. Total imports during that year amounted to more than 207 million. Now we can reduce this then down to the following formula, based on this 1969 model, the parameters of this 1969 economy.

In the northern economy, every additional dollar of outside capital investment and or public expenditure, generates new income for residents within the regional economy of only 20 or 25¢ and in the process the region in effect goes - into the hole to spend a dollar or more on imports. Of this 20 to 25¢ in personal income, only 4 to 5 ¢ out of the original dollar generally, or finally trickles down to the majority native population.

Now this spin-off effect will vary considerably of course, depending upon the sources and kind involved. Federal Government expenditures

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1 being more labour intensive and producing a larger
2 proportion of services and output consumed within the
3 region, have a far higher spin-off effect than do
4 investments in capital intensive non-renewable resource
5 industry such as mineral, or gas and oil, most of all
6 whose output is exported.

7 For every dollar invested in
8 the latter, probably only 5 or 6¢ finally becomes
9 generates personal income to northern residents, and
10 revenues to local and regional governments, and a mere
11 1 or 2¢ ends up in the hands of the natives. I think
12 if one were to examine the total impact of the Pine
13 Point mining operation for instance, that estimate
14 wouldn't be that far out.

15 Now nine, it's against this
16 sort of background or perspective therefore, that one
17 should attempt to assess the possible impact of a
18 major developmental project such as the proposed gas
19 pipeline across the Northern Yukon and down the
20 Mackenzie Valley.

21 Now, I should explain at this
22 point that it is not my intention to focus on the
23 pipeline project as such, or to present^a case, strong
24 argument for or against it. In referring to it in
25 some detail, though, at this point, I'm doing so
26 because it's the only such major project that I am
27 know of of which there's been considerable research done
28 by official and presumably neutral government agencies,
29 and some official forecasts made as to its probable economic
30 impact. The sort of project, the sort of research, and

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1 assessment that should have been done, and unfortunately
2 was not done on the Pine Point mineral development for
3 instance.

4 Now, I am able to draw on the
5 data therefore, I propose to draw on the data provided
6 to test the validity of the hypothesis that I have been
7 spelling out from this sort of formula that I have
8 hypothesized.

9 Now, the guidelines announced
10 by the Minister of Indian Affairs, and Northern Development
11 in 1972, to govern the pipeline project, are intended
12 to provide safeguards to reduce or minimize environmental
13 and social damage and to maximise the opportunities for
14 increased employment and earnings for the resident
15 population, particularly the native, through provision
16 of special training and counselling services and
17 facilities. The intention in other words is to try and
18 increase the spin-off effect, increase the percentage
19 of the investment dollar that generates income, particular-
20 ily for the native population. Despite these measures
21 the pipeline project appears likely to have a very
22 limited spin-off effect as regards improving the
23 economic position of the North, whether native or other.
24 Now, this is to be expected insofar as the project is
25 not only highly capital intensive, like mining and
26 smelting for instance, but the major ^{share} of the project
27 proposed is also highly concentrated in a period of only
28 three or four years. By far the major part of the
29 machinery, equipment, materials and labour, required
30 and the provisions for their maintenance, are to be

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1 imported. This is a huge project involving total
2 expenditure of one 1.27 billion or more, that figure is
3 given in the economic staff group study from
4 which I'll be quoting again. So a project involving
5 a total expenditure of 1.275 billion in the Northern
6 area or more, is likely to generate at best only a
7 relatively few millions of dollars of net additional
8 income to the Northern region and its people. This I
9 think we could predict using the sort of model I worked
10 out.

11 I'll in effect say now, if the
12 northern economy today is at all similar to what it was
13 in 1969, then we can more or less predict these results.
14 Now this prediction appears to be substantiated in the
15 lengthy assessment based on intensive research by
16 Economic Staff Group, Northern Economic Development
17 Branch of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.
18 Without going into all the details, assumptions
19 and calculations involved its findings may be summarized
20 as follows:

21 During the project's anticipated twenty year life-
22 time, from the assumed beginning in 1975 to ultimate
23 demise in 1995 when the gas is finally expected to run
24 out, the total net additional income to Northern residents
25 that's personal income, will amount to \$31.98 or we'll
26 say 32 million dollars after allowing for additional
27 income taxes returned to the Federal Government of 6.3
28 million and a reduction of Social Assistance payments
29 to Northern residents to 2.9 million.
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1 Now this approximately 32 million consists of after tax
2 earnings of 14.728 million from employment directly on
3 the pipeline and related projects, 4.35 million from
4 additional indirect labour generated as spin-off in the
5 public and private sector, and a further 9 and a half
6 million spin-off in additional income generated by
7 expenditures in the North by the thousands of workers
8 brought in from the outside.

9 Now in the report it should
10 be pointed out that it is estimated that expenditures
11 by imported workers in the North will generate less than
12 ten percent of their earnings in new income to Northern
13 residents.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
15 Dr. Jamieson. You are quoting from a report and I
16 missed the title of the report?

17 A Yes, Mr. Commissioner, the
18 report is entitled " Regional Impact of a Northern Gas
19 Pipeline, Volume I , Summary Report, An Appraisal
20 Prepared by the Economic Staff Group, Northern Economic
21 Development Branch, Department of Indian Affairs, and
22 Northern Development"

23 Where I'm quoting I'm listing
24 in my brief here, the page numbers.

25 Now, in the report it should
26 should be pointed out that estimated expenditures by
27 imported workers in the North will generate less than
28 10% of their earnings in new income to Northern residents.
29 The number of Northern residents employed in the
30 pipeline is expected to range from 1160 in the peak

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1 construction period, down to 220 during the post pipe-
2 laying, compressor and facility operating period,
3 roughly 1978 to '81, and finally to a mere 56 for
4 maintainence and operating work when the construction
5 is completed. The number of workers brought in from
6 outside, by contrast, is expected to number some
7 6,270 during peak construction, or about 5 and a half
8 to six times the number of resident workers. And their
9 total earnings to amount to well over a hundred million
10 possibly as much as 200 million dollars during this
11 three year period, so that the pipeline in
12 brief, I think it follows, it seems to follow from this
13 assessment, pattern from previous development
14 in the North, major development projects at least,
15 that while utilizing, and ultimately it's expected
16 exhausting a northern resource, it will generate several
17 times more income and employment for outside workers
18 than for northern residents.

19 Now, the pipeline and related
20 development is expected to generate in addition to the
21 aforementioned 32 million in personal income, personal
22 income received by the individual/^{northern}resident a total of
23 18.45 million in additional revenue to Territorial and
24 local governments from rents, royalties, taxes,
25 training allowances and other items. All told therefore
26 the proposed expenditure of a billion and a quarter
27 or more dollars on the northern segment of the pipeline
28 is expected to yield only a very limited net increase
29 in income to northern residents and the northern region
30 as a whole of some 49 and a half million, or about if

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1 we average it out about 2 and a half million a
2 year over its entire lifetime of 20 years.

3 Now the participation of the
4 Native population and their income benefits from
5 the pipeline project are also expected to be very lim-
6 ited. Of the total Native labour force of about
7 3,800 only 670 -- or about 17 1/2% will be working
8 on the pipeline and related employment in the peak
9 construction period, 1975 -- at that time 1975 to '77,
10 probably a more realistic one would be '76 - '78.
11 I should mention this 670 is not -- it will
12 be to some extent a rotative group -- more than that,
13 if you aggregate it will be employed at one time or
14 another, but it is anticipated that on the average
15 a peak of about 670 during the major three year
16 construction period. -- Declining then to some 210 or
17 about 5% of the Native labour force during the '78-
18 '81 and only some two dozen thereafter for operation
19 and maintenance.

20 The total additional net in-
21 come accruing to natives from the project and its
22 spinoffs is estimated to be only 18.710 million before
23 taxes and 14.76/after taxes, anticipated about --
24 increased income taxes -- will be around 4 million
25 going to the Federal Government. So about 14.76
26 million after taxes or about 700,000 per annum over
27 the entire 20 year duration of the project.

28 About 60% of this will be earned
29 in the first three to four years alone. From this
30 14.76 million there is an anticipated 2.9 million

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1 reduction in social assistance payments from the
2 Federal Government which currently accounts for a
3 significant fraction of Native income leaving a final
4 net gain of 11.86 million or an average of about a
5 little over half a million dollars a year over
6 the 20 year duration.
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1 the Northwest Territories in the period of four or
2 five years, and thereafter the average percentage income
3 would be very negligible indeed.

4 Now in view of the generally
5 low poverty level of average income of the native
6 population in '69, as noted before these very limited
7 gains would do little to improve their economic posi-
8 tion. Now I should perhaps add as a footnote here
9 -- a later report of the Task Force on Northern
10 Development submitted by the Environmental Social
11 Committee, which is an inter-departmental committee
12 including Indian Affairs and I believe Energy ^{and} Resources,

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr.
14 Jamieson, while you are looking up that reference will
15 you just pause for a moment, could you come here,
16 please? Yes, excuse me, carry on, please.

17 A I should add that a
18 later report of the Task Force, a follow-up to the
19 one I was quoting earlier, from the Economic Staffs
20 Group, is a report to the Task Force of Northern
21 Oil Development submitted by the Environmental Social
22 Committee on Northern Pipelines, and it's an inter-
23 departmental committee. Now it comes up with a
24 somewhat more optimistic estimate than I presented
25 here, and it was presented by the Economic Study
26 Group, and I quote it:

27 "On the presumption presumably that the pipe-
28 line will stimulate greater exploration and
29 discovery and development of new gas and
30 oil deposits, the report estimates that these

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would add substantially to the ^{employment} ~~income~~ of
northern residents."

Now I have not taken these
predictions into account in the assessment I am pre-
senting for two main reasons:

- (1) As the report points out, major or minor discoveries,
if made during the first period of major construc-
tion during say '75 to '78, would be virtually of
no additional benefit to northern residents, be-
cause all available resident labor, native or
otherwise, available that is, would already be
fully employed on the main project. The additional
workers required then would have to come entirely
from other parts of the country and it's assumed,
as pointed out earlier, that less than 10% of
their earnings actually generate new income in
the north. So significant benefits to the
northern region from new discoveries therefore
would not be achieved until well on in the future
when there was substantial unemployment among
resident workers. So all this presents an
argument ^{if any} for delaying construction of the main
project and extending the period involved for its
completion.
- (2) I think it is pure conjecture to link new dis-
coveries and development to the pipeline project
as such, and they cannot with validity be incor-
porated into an analysis of the overall project
-- impact of the pipeline project itself.

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1 THE COMMISSIONER: I missed
2 that last sentence.

3 A Oh, yes. My point is
4 that it's pure conjecture to assume that new discover-
5 ies and development are a product or by-product of a
6 major pipeline project, so that you can't incorporate
7 new discoveries and their impact into an analysis of
8 the impact of
/the major pipeline project itself, because a valid
9 case could be presented for the argument that explora-
10 tion discovery and future development could be more
11 efficiently carried out independently of the main
12 project, and the main project delayed until a more
13 available gas and/or oil deposits were assured. So
14 I just wish . to explain why I hadn't incorporated
15 in my presentation this other data.

16 Well, now viewing this
17 larger perspective, therefore, and in view of the
18 findings that the amount of income generated in the
19 north, and anticipated as being generated in the north,
20 the distribution of income from the proposed pipeline
21 project and the relatively small benefits from it
22 accruing to the resident population seem likely to
23 appear highly unsatisfactory.

24 I won't belabor that point
25 any further.

26 Now it could be argued, of
27 course, that in view -- I would stress again that I
28 don't want to belabor the pipeline project as such,
29 I see it as not being too different from other major
30 projects of the kind that have already developed in

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1 north or that could develop. If say large new discover-
2 ies of lead and zinc were found in the Mackenzie basin,
3 for instance, I wonder if we could suppose there were
4 no gas or oil, one could predict a scenario not too
5 much different.

6 Now it could be argued, of
7 course, that in view of the widespread poverty and
8 unemployment, idleness and demoralization of our
9 native population, any new development that offers a
10 possibility of additional jobs and income must lead
11 to some improvement in their economic welfare, and
12 that arguments about the proper or a fair share of
13 the total proceeds, going to the north or to the
14 natives or non-natives and so on is rather pointless,
15 provided the proper safeguards are taken against
16 damaging side-effects of the project. This argument,
17 however, begs a larger and far more important ques-
18 tion, namely, the true and total costs that are
19 likely to be incurred in the north, in one form and
20 another as a result of a project as large in magnitude
21 as the proposed pipeline.

22 As the economic study group
23 and the environmental and social group reports notes
24 while the benefits are tangible and identifiable in
25 terms of money, most of the costs are not, and unlike
26 the benefits, most of which will be or anticipated to
27 be temporary over a period of four or five years, the
28 most important costs are likely of long duration or
29 permanent. Over a period of 5-10 or more years the
30 total costs incurred and attributable to the larger

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1 impact of the project seem likely to far exceed the
2 limited tax benefits which ^{it} is expected to bestow,
3 particularly on the native population.

4 Now first and most obvious,
5 of course, are the costs of ecological and environm en-
6 tal damage incurred by any major developmental pro-
7 ject . The present lack of knowledge about these
8 and the limited amount of research that has been done
9 on the subject have been discussed by numerous critics
10 and no doubt you've heard considerable about this on
11 the hearings so far, and will tomorrow.

12 I'd like to merely focus on
13 a couple of economic aspects of this question. In
14 the 1969 estimate of native income in the Northwest
15 Territories it was found, as I pointed out, that some
16 two-thirds of the gainfully employed native population
17 were engaged on at least a part-time basis in the
18 traditional resource-based activities, and these
19 accounted for about 5 1/2 million dollars, including
20 the 3.66 million imputed value of subsistence hunting,
21 or about 35% of native earned income, though if we
22 add transfer payments of one kind and another these
23 would constitute about 26% of all native income from
24 all sources.

25 Now this negative cost factor,
26 whether there's any damage to the renewable resources,
27 could have a very considerable impact amounting conceivably
28 to millions of dollars over a long period. Now this
29 could happen for two main reasons:

30 (1) Perhaps and most obvious, the ecological factor

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1 itself, possible damage or depletion of wildlife and
2 their habitat.

3 (2) Big pay and high living from temporary work in
4 the nature of a construction project. Any major
5 construction project; this sort of pattern has occurred
6 on numerous occasions on other major projects such as
7 the Thompson -- the Nickel Mining & Smelting project
8 in Northern Manitoba carried out by Inco or again
9 in Northern British Columbia, a major Peace River Dam
10 project. The impact on native communities -- but
11 such projects attract sizeable numbers of natives
12 away from their traditional activities for a few
13 years, after which, many find themselves unable or
14 unwilling to return to their former way of life and
15 they are relegated to a state of idleness and demoraliz-
16 ation. A permanent declining loss of real income from
17 this source alone, apart from ecological damage,
18 amounts to a considerable cost factor in the long
19 run.

20 Well, time is running out
21 here so I'll, if I may have a few more minutes, Mr.
22 Commissioner.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: My time
24 isn't running out.

25 A Oh, well --

26 (LAUGHTER)

27 as long as I'm not hogging, as long as I have not
28 taken too large a share of the total time shared among
29 the three of us.

30 Now the ecological damage and

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1 if we might call it the attraction, the long^{run} attraction
2 out of traditional resource-based activities due to
3 a temporary benefit, that rather short-run construction
4 projects offer.

5 Now the second major cost
6 factor, there is a host of social, physical or mental
7 health problems to be faced as unavoidable by-products
8 of any major construction project bringing rapid
9 economic growth and change, such as families divided
10 or uprooted from their home communities for pipeline
11 work, urban congestion, shortages in housing and other
12 facilities, Cultural shock, conflict and social
13 change with disruptive and damaging results to
14 individuals and families, increased alcoholism and
15 other mental health problems.

16 Now it should be noted in
17 this connection-- and this is a peculiar quirk which
18 has bugged economists for years, in national income
19 accounts -- that the increased personnel^{and}/facilities
20 required to deal with such problems, financed largely
21 by federal and Territorial Government expense,
22 according to orthodox accounting standards, tend to
23 show up as increased employment and income generated
24 spin-offs and thus tend to be identified as economic
25 growth, quote unquote. In reality they should be
26 viewed as costs, properly charged against the anticipa-
27 ted benefits of any major project. In the proposed
28 case of the pipeline, for instance, they alone, I
29 think it seems likely, they seem likely in the aggre-
30 gate to far exceed the 11.8 million net gain in

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1 income expected to accrue to the native population.

2 Now third, over and above the
3 direct monetary costs and outlays required to meet these
4 problems, there is the matter of cultural values to be
5 considered. Now it's well to remember again in this
6 connection the Honourable Mr. Cretien made a statement
7 of policies to the effect that:

8 "In seeking to improve the conditions of
9 life for the people of the north, we must
10 find out both how this can be done in ways
11 that they themselves want, rather than in
12 ways that we have predetermined."

13 I interpret that as involving among other things a
14 serious attempt to find how deeply embedded the
15 aboriginal cultural values are and how much, how
16 operative they are in terms of the motivations of
17 the populations of native origin. Despite the drastic
18 change and disruption of their way of live from
19 increasing contact with white society, many native
20 Indians and Eskimos in the north have still managed
21 to retain some strong roots in their aboriginal culture.
22 If the well-being of the native population is to have
23 a high priority, as stated in official policy, such
24 roots should be viewed as values that are important
25 in providing the native population for a separate and
26 distinct sense of identity. This in turn may be one
27 of the most important means of reducing or minimizing
28 social psychological disruption and disorganization
29 and the accompanying social and mental health problems
30 as I mentioned before. The erosion and possible

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1 destruction of such cultural roots and values as a
2 consequence of a major resource development project
3 should likewise then be viewed as an additional cost
4 to be charged against additional provincial benefits
5 and as threats or contingencies that call for special
6 outlays of money to provide adequate protection and encour-
7 agement to the native population.

8 So in brief, it seems more
9 than evident that the prevailing economic , political
10 and social structure of the north, and the prevailing
11 set of policies of the Federal Government and the
12 cultural business enterprises in the northern economic
13 development do not provide an adequate level or share
14 of income to the native population, or even adequate
15 protection of the limited livelihood they now receive.
16 The prevailing trend of development policy in the
17 north, probably by accident rather than by design,
18 seems to be having the effect of bringing the worst
19 of both worlds to the native population, namely,
20 continual erosion and destruction of their native
21 culture on the one hand and continuing, possibly
22 increasing poverty dependency, idleness, demoraliza-
23 tion on the other.

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1 Any major project such as
2 the proposed Mackenzie gas pipeline, seems likely to
3 accelerate this trend in the long run, unless I would
4 say alternative programs are adopted to deal with it.
5 To prepare adequately then for any major project that
6 may be undertaken, whatever the project may be, whether
7 gas, oil pipeline or future large-scale transportation
8 or mineral development projects, it appears what's
9 badly needed in the north is a type of alternative
10 policies and principles above and beyond those now
11 embedded in the prevailing structure and system of
12 public enterprise and public policy.

13 For allocating and distribut-
14 ing additional income and providing additional facili-
15 ties and services to the northern territory, and
16 particularly to the native population, these should
17 be aimed at two or three broad objectives:

- 18 (1) To raise the average level of real income to the
19 native population in time to a standard approaching
20 that of the non-native residents;
21 (2) While sustaining and encouraging their distinct
22 cultural base and sense of identity, and
23 (3) Enable the north native and non-native alike to be
24 less financially dependent on Ottawa.

25 In terms of specific types of
26 programs these would seem to encompass the following:

- 27 (1) Not necessarily the most important but certainly
28 needed, it seems to me, maximum aid in training
29 and counselling services and facilities, market
30 surveys, provision of credit, planning and

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1 allocation of business licences and the like,
2 for those natives and their dependents who seem
3 oriented primarily to employment in a dominant
4 and growing business, industrial and public service
5 sectors of the economy. Such facilities and
6 services should be designed for the northern
7 economy as a whole, but not focused primarily
8 on one major project such as say a gas pipeline.

9 Now by way of a foot-note
10 on this point, it's to be noted that the environmental
11 social committee report as well as economic study
12 group report quoted earlier make fairly precise
13 calculations regarding the employment and income
14 according to the natives and expected to include the
15 natives from the pipeline project itself. These are
16 based on the assumptions that policies laid down in
17 the guide-lines by the Minister will likely be carried
18 out, including the provision of special training
19 grants, facilities and services that are expected to
20 cost some \$7 million. I am not clear who is to pay
21 that cost, whether it's the pipeline consortium or
22 I presume it might be the Federal Government.

23 On the other hand, no esti-
24 mates are attempted in the report as to any native
25 share in the spin-off or indirect employment and income
26 as it affects the projects which I mentioned. Pre-
27 sumably because no comparable guide-lines or provisions
28 for training facilities and the like -- I shouldn't
29 say no, but it's certainly not comparable in degree of
30 specificity have been undertaken for natives for the

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1 northern economy as a whole in enterprises other than
2 the pipeline.

3 (2) Then secondly, the second broad program, that
4 special planning, effort and expenditures seem
5 called for in financial and technical aid and
6 improved quality in equipment and techniques for
7 those of native background who are unable or
8 unwilling to become committed to long-term wage
9 or salary, employment, in business industry or
10 government, and that prefer to depend primarily
11 upon the traditional resource-based activities.

12 Preservation of these as some
13 sort of a secure livelihood base for the survival of
14 cultural values, as discussed earlier, is a valid
15 goal beyond mere economic considerations of maximum
16 output, minimum cost. The goal should be rather
17 maximum employment within the limits employed by
18 needs for conservation and environmental protection.
19 That levels of real income more nearly approaching those
20 of alternative wage and salary employment.

21 Now there is a footnote to
22 this that should be noted in this connection, that
23 the long-term flow of natives away from their tradi-
24 tional way of life into wage and salary employment
25 is not simply a matter of leaving hard low-paid labor
26 for easier, higher-paying jobs, for the wage and
27 salary jobs are in effect heavily subsidized. They
28 are located, for the most part in population centres
29 in which education, medical, public health, recrea-
30 tional, and other publicly financed services are

1 similarly concentrated. If comparable services were pro-
2 vided, and special efforts undertaken to make such
3 services available on a comparable scale so far as
4 possible to natives on their traditional trapping,
5 hunting and fishing grounds, it might well induce
6 a higher rate of participation.

7 (3) Here I think there is a somewhat more difficult
8 area but for those in the native population group who
9 for various reasons are or will be unable or unwilling
10 to engage in either of the above two categories of
11 employment, and thus remain partially or wholly unem-
12 ployed, a broad and liberally financed program to
13 participate in a wide variety of cultural, recreational,
14 artistic, educational, vocational, and other so-called
15 leisure time activities seem called for. In other
16 words, not productive employment^{or} activity in the usual
17 sense of the term, work for wages or to do something
18 for sale, rather to hold or to provide some, as far
19 as possible, meaningful and to the individual satisfactory.
20 in the long run less costly alternative to that of
21 idleness and dependency with consequent demoralization
22 and in all too many cases, excessive dependence on
23 alcohol. Needless to say, programs of this kind will
24 require the utmost co-operation, consultation, and
25 participation from the native population. Presumably
26 through their organizations in the north, and research
27 and planning as well as in administration, indeed the
28 ultimate objective, as I see it, is to transfer
29 as far as possible most or all of the responsibility
30 for their implementation to the native population

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1 themselves, for again, to quote Mr. Cretian's policy
2 statement,

3 "How else are we to improve their conditions
4 of life ^{in ways} that they themselves want ^{rather} than the
5 ways that we have predetermined?"

6 Now in brief, developmental
7 programs and new and additional sources of income will
8 have to be devised by and for the native territory,
9 one way or another, if the economic, social and cultur-
10 al well-being of the native population is to be raised
11 substantially above its present level.

12 Indeed, as indicated in the
13 analysis herein presented, even to maintain their
14 present inadequate level will probably require consider-
15 ably larger expenditures of federal funds, in view of
16 the special dangers of environmental and social damage
17 presented by major developmental projects. If the
18 Federal Government in its wisdom is determined to and
19 committed to fully support construction of any large
20 major developmental project, such as the mining-smelting
21 operation, or a pipeline, it must or should feel equally
22 committed to the necessity of ensuring beforehand that
23 the Territorial Governments and particularly the
24 native population receive in one form or another, a much
25 larger share of the total income to be generated by the
26 project, over the nation as a whole.

27 The particular principles or
28 formula on which increased shares or their equivalent
29 could be planned and carried out are details that
30 presumably should be negotiated with the Territorial

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1 Councils and with representative bodies and organizations
2 from among the native population themselves. Conceivably
3 they could take a variety of forms, such as liberalize
4 wide-type grants, guaranteed annual income policies,
5 annual rents in perpetuity and payment for unsettled
6 native / land claims, annual sums of money based on the basis
7 of an agreed percentage of total revenues derived from
8 the project, or new and higher royalty payments to the
9 Territorial Governments on gas, oil, minerals, and
10 non-renewable resources generally, at levels comparable
11 to those applied in such provinces as Alberta and
12 British Columbia.

13 The conclusion from all this,
14 it seems more than evident that the actual launching
15 of any major new project such as the pipeline should
16 be delayed. More time is needed to carry out scientific
17 research of the kind Mr. Cretian referred to as being
18 needed to formulate the most appropriate policies and
19 programs for ensuring optimum benefits to the native
20 population. More time to examine alternative proposals
21 for development. Alternative pipeline projects to
22 that of Canarctic alone, and their potential impact on
23 the north. More time will be needed to work out the
24 fiscal arrangements with the Territorial Council and
25 to negotiate with native spokesmen and their organiza-
26 tions over their land claims and for the formulation,
27 and planning administration of new programs on
28 their behalf.

29 Now a convincing case, this
30 is outside of our present terms of reference but a very

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1 convincing case has been presented by my colleagues in
2 the Department of Economics in the University of
3 British Columbia, and I should mention particularly
4 Mr. John Helliwell, in presentation before the National
5 Energy Board, and also in a publication, the results
6 of our efforts, called "Mackenzie Pipeline," presented
7 by colleagues, to show that the gas pipeline project
8 would be more economically beneficial to Canada as a
9 whole if it were deferred until the 1980's. This
10 conclusion, it seems to me, is even more convincing
11 as regards the impact of any major new project on
12 the Northern Territories.

13 Thank you, Mr. Commissioner.

14 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
15 Dr. Jamieson.

16 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
17 my friend, Mr. Carter, accused me of removing his
18 microphone during Dr. Jamieson's address. There may
19 be some ulterior evidence for that supposition. I
20 should say that I provided a summary of all panelists
21 remarks with the exception of Mr. MacAleer, who is a
22 new panelist, to my friends, and as it turned out, Dr.
23 Jamieson's remarks are a little more specific and
24 detailed than was contemplated by my summary, and I
25 am obliged to observe, as with all panelists, that
26 their views are subject, in the end to cross-examination.
27 Dr. Jamieson is aware of that, as the other panelists
28 are, and counsel for the applicant has just asked me
29 to reserve his rights in that respect.

30 It might be convenient, Mr.

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1 Commissioner, if you're prepared to do so, if we took
2 ten minutes.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: Certainly.

4 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR TEN MINUTES)
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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Scott, I think that I should make it clear that on the overview hearings there has been no cross-examination. That was by agreement among counsel for all parties because it was intended simply to be an overview, let me but make it clear that if any witness on this overview makes statements to which any of the participants object, the witness can be recalled and cross-examined at the appropriate stage of the Inquiry. I think that everyone here is old enough to understand, just about every witness we have heard on this overview, has a point of view and the point of view of each witness has been indicated in some instances rather more starkly than in others, but in any event, this is going to be a fair and complete hearing and anything said by any witness on the overview that anyone wishes to challenge through the means of cross-examination, there will be that opportunity. I simply wanted to make that clear in view of Mr. Carter's representations to Mr. Scott. I think that his suggestion that you had stolen his microphone was intended to be symbolic.

Well, carry on then, Mr. Espie.

MR. ESPIE:

A All right, thank you, Mr. Commissioner.

The purpose of the remarks

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1 that I will be making this afternoon is to present
2 a brief overview of the present conditions and
3 circumstances of economic development in the North-
4 west Territories and in particular some of the
5 implications for policy that result.

6 With regard to the present
7 circumstances and conditions of the Territories'
8 economy, the recognition of the Northwest Territories
9 unique position is a basic premise of any
10 developmental strategy to be applied in this area.
11 the N.W.T. of course shares many problems with the
12 Yukon, Labrador, the Northern regions of many of the
13 provinces, however, it shares only with the Yukon a
14 direct relationship with the Federal Government of
15 a type permitting a lesser degree of autonomy than that
16 enjoyed by the provinces. It differs from the
17 Yukon in that it is poor in terms of locally generated
18 revenues and in that the vast majority of those
19 are inhabitants/not employed in one way or another
20 by government are native people.

21 To characterize the Northwest
22 Territories unique situation, ^{it is} one/isolated by distance
23 and time and to a considerable extent culturally
24 isolated from that centre, i.e. Ottawa where the
25 most crucial administrative and financial decisions
26 regarding its future are made. A very sparse
27 political representation does little to remedy the
28 adverse effects of this isolation.

29 Secondly, it is an economic
30 sense reliant on the extractive industries. These

1 industries as has been pointed out by Dr. Jamieson,
2 have a relative lack of built in spinoff benefits
3 for the region in which the resource is located.
4 They tend to be highly capital intensive. A large
5 proportion of the labour they utilize consists of
6 highly trained technicians. The chief returns to the
7 area from which the product is extracted, generally
8 come in terms of royalty payments to government which
9 may or may not trickle down to the people resident in
10 the area.

11 Three, a very high proportion
12 of the total population in the Territories is of
13 Eskimo, Indian or mixed ancestry. The native popu-
14 lation for the most part are distinct from the mass
15 of the Canadian population not only ethnically but
16 linguistically and culturally. Levels of income,
17 education, public services and social amenity are
18 markedly lower than in the south. Lifestyles are
19 different. These factors combine with severe
20 climate, scattered and sparse population and
21 relatively unproductive land to make the N.W.T. in
22 many respects, a different world from southern Canada.

23 An unwelcomed possibility
24 is that the beneficial impact of trade with southern
25 Canada may be felt in enclaves of the southern economy
26 implanted in the North, populated mainly by white
27 people and enjoying no organic social or cultural
28 linkages with the bulk of the population. The
29 result would be a dual economy productive of social
30 division and friction.

1 In fact the problems of the
2 dual economy are not so much a matter of future
3 concern, they are indeed, already with us and this
4 is a point to which Dr. Jamieson has underlined.
5 As enhanced communication facilities, and in particular
6 television, impinge on the North, we may expect to
7 see an increased trend of the Native peoples to be
8 motivated towards southern consumption patterns and
9 lifestyles. If at the same time the same populations
10 are in fact, because of language and educational
11 factors excluded from playing any real role in the
12 economy, a high price will be paid in classic social
13 alienation manifesting itself in such pathologies
14 as alcoholism, crime, disruptive family life and in deed
15 mental disturbance.

16 More simply, there is a very
17 real danger, but the net impact of the southern
18 economy in the North may prove to be destructive in
19 social and cultural terms. Again, I detected some
20 remarks a long those lines in Dr. Jamieson's address.
21 The process of development is already well advanced
22 in the N.W.T. Can it be reversed? Would it be
23 possible, for example, to turn back the clock and
24 return to the days before the whiteman's ways were
25 felt in the North? The Northerners have come to
26 accept and depend upon Southern medicine, upon the
27 food and other goods supplied by stores in every
28 settlement, upon the airplane, the snowmobile, the
29 rifle and the full range of Southern technology.

30 All these items are demanded

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1 and used by Northerners of all races. However, it must
2 be recognized that only to a small degree are they
3 paid for by Northerners. Year after year to maintain
4 present levels of living the North has been subsi-
5 dized by the South.

6 This in itself is by no means
7 any cause for shame. The maritime provinces for
8 example/^{also} are highly subsidized by the wealthier regions
9 of Canada. Parts of all the provinces where resources
10 are sparse are subsidized by the wealthier parts of
11 those provinces. These transfer of funds are indeed
12 part of the institutional cement that holds Canada
13 together as a nation, but, and this is an important
14 point, these transfers have been countenanced over the
15 years subject to an implicit condition, namely that
16 if the recipients -- that the recipients are under an
17 obligation to do what they can to develop such
18 potential as they may have. This is the proved
19 position of the N.W.T. Having for many years relied on
20 subsidies from the South, can we commit ourselves in the
21 long term to the role of conscientious objectors
22 to the notion of economic development?

23 As we approach the idea
24 of development of the Territories, there -- certain
25 desirable characteristics spring to mind that would
26 characterize any appropriate Northern development
27 strategy.

28 Given the general concerns
29 and conditions that I have just briefly described,
30 are there any implications of policy regarding

1 economic development in the North in general terms,
2 I believe that there are.

3 It was stated earlier that any
4 development policy for the N.W.T. must be framed with
5 due regard to the unique situation pertaining in
6 the Canadian North. Application of a program mix
7 evolved to suit the situation in the Southern provinces
8 even with some degree of modification is not likely
9 to produce the desired results.

10 The kind of development pro-
11 gram indicated or needed in the Northwest Territories
12 might well possess the following characteristics:

13 One, to suit the social
14 situation existing in the N.W.T. optimum economic
15 development -- and an optimum economic development
16 strategy should be phased over time in line with a
17 pace sufficiently slow to permit the native people
18 to progressively adapt themselves to it stage by stage.

19 The effects of over rapid
20 development have been shown to be disruptive socially
21 and psychology and bring in their train permanent
22 and irreversible damage to native society and native
23 culture.

24 Two, the demands of the
25 economic process must not be elevated to an extent
26 that social and cultural goals are totally subordinated
27 to them. The proper criteria for the success of
28 any program of economic development are not measured
29 in terms of / dollars or units of output, but in evident
30

1 in recognized improvements in the welfare of the
2 people and the quality of life that they enjoy.

3 Three, because of the organic
4 relationship existing in the Northwest Territories
5 between the way of life of the Native people and the
6 integrity of the Northern ecosystem, preservation
7 of the environment and the wildlife which are a
8 part of it, is recognized to require a very high
9 priority.

10 Four, maximum feasible parti-
11 cipation in the framing and implementation of all
12 development plans by those who they will effect is
13 essential. So far as the native people is concerned
14 this goes much further than insuring maximum employ-
15 ment at all levels.

16 No long term development plan
17 is likely to work if it is not acceptable by the
18 bulk of the population as to some extent their plan.
19 The only way to insure this is by establishing
20 advisory and consultative structures of territorial,
21 regional and local levels that permit maximum inputs
22 by concerned populations into the planning process.
23 In line with this, government must itself develop
24 the capacity to respond to this kind of participatory
25 input. The operative style of government must
26 progressively become more open and facilitative.
27 So far as it is compatible with long run efficiency
28 development policy should reflect a philosophy of
29 from the bottom up rather than from the top down.

30 Five, in line with this

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MacAleer
In Chief

1 last consideration it seems logical that so far as is
2 possible and practical, decision making power be
3 consistently moved down the line to the point of
4 program delivery.
5

6 In matters of economic
7 development remote control decision making is
8 perhaps the worse possible option. It is this fact
9 as much as any other that accounts for the
10 disappearance of the colonial empires, with regard
11 to programming needs in the present and the future.

12 So far as funding is concerned
13 there must be recognition of the enormous catchup
14 demands of the Northwest Territories. Dr. Jamieson
15 has made mention of the low economic levels of
16 living : / areas of social need in the North in some
17 detail.

18 It is a basic component of
19 National thinking on development policy, that
20 so far as possible, economic disparities between
21 the various regions of Canada should be progressively
22 eradicated. The most dramatic disparity in
23 Canada today is that separating the people of the
24 Northwest Territories from other Canadians. Only
25 a dramatic increase in the funding made available
26 for economic and social development in the
27 Territories can make any inroads into this
28 situation.

29 One economic need of the
30 Territories is for sources of Capital to
finance development in and for the region.

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MacAleer
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1 In relation to the extrac-
2 tive industries, an obvious source of such capital
3 is royalty revenue. In order to make capital avail-
4 able locally it makes sense that the proportion of
5 such royalties that may be generated and returned
6 to the people in the end, in the N.W.T. should
7 be maximized. Repatriated royalties generated by
8 the extractive industries may usefully be recycled
9 as funding for a range of development programs and
10 projects that would offer a diverse range of employ-
11 ment opportunities likely to utilize the particular
12 skills and abilities of Northerners.

13 The role of the native
14 peoples organizations is perhaps likely to
15 prove crucial in this respect. In particular the Native
16 people organizations may play a significant part in
17 insuring that natives not only find employment in these
18 spinoff opportunities, but also enter into an owner-
19 ship role in regard to them,

20 The notion of diversity
21 is an important one in order to insure a healthy
22 economy which can sustain growth. An approach there-
23 fore must be a many faceted one taking full advan-
24 tage of such opportunities which may be identified.

25 Well, opportunities come to
26 light in fisheries, in tourism, in agriculture, in
27 forestry, in arts and in manufacture of the creation
28 of arts and crafts, in the manufacture specialty
29 items, they must be fully exploited. The Govern-
30 ment of the Northwest Territories economic development

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Espie, MacAleer
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1 department runs programs to encourage in the growth
2 and the harvesting of game, tourism, co-operatives,
3 arts and crafts and small businesses through promotional
4 activities and the provision of developmental grants
5 and loans.

6
7 However, these programs are
8 not flexible enough nor are they well enough funded
9 to finance all or most of the wide range of development
10 needs which I outlined earlier.

11 We have done inside the
12 department some research into what kinds of secondary
13 development opportunities may occur for Northerners
14 in relation to the proposed major development projects
15 such as a pipeline or a highway.

16 A limited number of the more
17 significant of these opportunities have been identified
18 and the detailed economic evaluation of each has
19 been done with a view to maximization of local
20 participation in those which prove financially
21 feasible.

22 A philosophy of implementation
23 of the areas emerges from these studies expressing
24 in very general terms it involves applying the
25 best technical and entrepreneurial expertise
26 available to a given opportunity in conjunction with
27 local, unskilled, perhaps less entrepreneur
28 oriented human resources on a joint venture basis
29 may be possible if details of these studies may
30 be discussed at some later points in the hearings
of this inquiry.

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Espie, MacAleer

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1 In closing, I would just
2 like to say that the foregoing has been intended as
3 an inventory of those characteristics without which
4 no plan or program of economic development is likely
5 to succeed in the context of today's Northwest Terri-
6 tories. As a set of prescriptions it makes considerable
7 demands. In the first instance it calls for
8 concerted efforts, imagination and tolerance from
9 Northerners of all races. From Industry and from
10 Government it demands flexibility and innovativeness.
11 Given all these and perhaps most important of all,
12 given the will to collaborate in shared common pur-
13 pose on the part of all Northerners, the goal of a
14 wealthy and thriving Northwest Territories becomes
15 more realistic and more attainable.
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In Chief

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2 MR. ESPIE: Thank you, Mr.
3 Commissioner.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you,
5 Dr. Espie .

6 MR. SCOTT: Thank you very
7 much Dr. Espie. Mr. Commissioner, Messrs. Bell and
8 Bayly have indicated that they wish their rights
9 reserved with respect to the overview presented by Dr.
10 Espie.

11 Mr. MacAleer, we have heard
12 from a number of socialologists and anthropologists in the
13 last few days who have referred to "entrapeneurs" by
14 which they mean, I think, businessmen and elected
15 representatives of the community. You're the real object
16 and we'd like to hear your comments on the economic
17 life of the Territories, as you see it.

18 MR. MacAL EER: Thank you
19 Ian.

20 Mr. Commissioner, ladies and
21 gentlemen, I probably want to preface my remarks by
22 saying that they are probably not as fluid as the
23 previous two presentations, nor are they intended to be.
24 I jumped at the opportunity to speak at this conference
25 because, as a defender of small business and as a small
26 businessman, I say an opportunity to present the point
27 of view of that particular sector of our community.

28 I am sure that Mr. Robertson
29 who was to speak here, could have done equally as well
30 and which he probably could be heard at some later

1 time. I think the points I wish to make may not be
2 as co-ordinated and as well associated as I would like
3 to have them, and I think one of the aspects which will
4 be particularly lacking is statistical information.
5 I think the best way to describe my remarks is that they
6 are gut remarks made by my own, as a result of my own
7 experience in the north, and the people that I have
8 talked to in the last five or ten hours when I realized
9 that I was to appear at this Commission. So, realizing
10 that, I want to preface my remarks by saying that first
11 of all my definition of a small business is probably one
12 that earns net receipts somewhere less than \$100,000 a
13 year. Although that may seem like a lot of money, a
14 lot of businesses in the north are in somewhere between
15 \$1 and \$100,000 a year.

16 The idea of a small business
17 is not unique in the Canadian experience because 85%
18 of the work force in the country is employed by small
19 business, and certainly I'd like to know what the
20 employment ratio is for small business in the Northwest
21 Territories. It probably and it certainly will not
22 be as high.

23 At the cost of being redundant
24 and reiterating some of the remarks that were made
25 previously by my colleagues, we all realize that we
26 live in a very unique region of the country. It's
27 unique because it's isolated from the rest of Canada.
28 It's isolated in a number of ways. It's isolated because
29 of distance and because of time, and because, most
30 of all because the rest of Canada knows so little about

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1 their north country. I think if there's anything
2 that separates us from the rest of Canada, and that is
3 the lack of knowledge which Canadians have of the north,
4 and this vacuum unfortunately has its effects on
5 political, social, but in my presentation I'd like to
6 emphasize the effect which it has on the economic
7 aspect of the north, and in particular how it relates
8 to the small business community.

9 We, first of all are isolated
10 from the more populated market place and that's more
11 than obvious. We have a distance in terms of communi-
12 cation, both in the physical sense and also in a meta-
13 physical sense because in the school system, for example
14 in Canada very little is taught about what the north
15 of this country is like. I can speak from experience
16 in that regard because in my own background, six years
17 ago, when I came north I hardly knew where Yellowknife
18 was, in fact when I got here I had to look at a map.
19 I'm not proud of that and I'm not proud of the fact that
20 many of my counter-parts who also live in Eastern Canada
21 or Western Canada, know so little about what is probably
22 the largest part of this country, a third of the land
23 mass. But this knowledge aspect, I want to dwell on
24 this for a moment because its effect on the business
25 community results in some humorous experiences when
26 you're dealing in the business community.

27 For example, many Federal
28 Government programs completely forget about the fact
29 that there is a north, or more particularly the North-
30 west Territories. I speak of Arda, Dree, if you look

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1 at a map for their programs it's divided into, east,
2 central, western and the Pacific Region, but the north
3 isn't even given a place on the map. I think of the
4 programs of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau which
5 is divided -- their programs are divided into a number
6 of regions, usually four or five regions, and the north
7 is not given even a place of recognition on their
8 material. As a result, that leads to the obvious con-
9 clusion that we're simply not included in any of the
10 funding which their programs may have.

11 But one of the aspects I
12 want to dwell on more particularly, and it's not because
13 I have a particular bone to pick with the Department of
14 Indian Affairs, but it's because that particular
15 Department has had the responsibility for governing and
16 developing the north, for administering the affairs of
17 the people here for so many years, and therefore I think
18 they have to bear the brunt of the responsibility for
19 the remarks which I am going to make.

20 One of the goals of the
21 Department seems to be to develop business in the north,
22 and certainly they have designated large amounts of
23 funding in the Indian and Eskimo development fund,
24 for example, for developing northern business. They
25 have also sent some very enthusiastic field workers
26 into the area to try to present the message that
27 they have every intention to reach this goal. One of
28 the problems that we've experienced in dealing with the
29 program which this particular Department is bringing
30 forward, is to be defined as such. It's a conflict which

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1 results when government gets involved in the development
2 of business. For example, the field worker, for example,
3 may ^{have} worked with the Bank of Montreal for many years, so
4 he is already cognizant what the business community is
5 all about. He goes to work for government and he goes
6 into the field speaking to the individuals in the
7 community in terms of cost, in terms of revenue, in terms
8 of balance sheets, in terms of statements of revenue
9 and expenditures. He takes that -- those statements
10 and he tries to formulate a justification for the
11 Department's expenditure of particular monies. They
12 might be \$25,000 or 125,000 or even larger or smaller
13 figures. He goes back to his superiors and explains
14 to them in terms of dollars and cents, a justification
15 for the Department investing in that particular indivi-
16 dual's or firm's business.

17 The problem is that that's
18 where that lingo ends, because no longer after it reaches
19 that second level are they talking about cost, revenue,
20 about the lingo of business, because in our experience
21 at that level you begin to talk about social dollars,
22 political advantage or disadvantage, of trying to be
23 benevolent or trying to alleviate poverty, or trying to
24 be simply good brothers in the community. The problem
25 there is that the field worker then has to turn around
26 and go back down to the man he talked to in the
27 community and say, "O.K., your \$25,000 request has been
28 accepted or rejected on the basis not of whether or
29 not the business was viable or not viable, but in terms
30 of social pressures, or in terms of political reasons."

What really happens here is that the field worker becomes extremely frustrated because he has to do this constant translation between the political process which is giving them money and the business process which he's trying to justify. What I'm really leading up to here, I think, is that if we wanted -- if government wishes to develop business in the north, then government should get out of the development field.

One of the problems that businesses have, of course, is financing, and this is not only isolated to businesses dealing with governments but also businesses dealing with financial institutions. Again I refer to this vacuum which exists in terms of the knowledge which southern or people living in the provinces have of the north. My own experience has been that only recently have the major national banking institutions sent their banking supervisors into the north to even examine where their own banks were. They've seen pictures, and they think it's a good location that they have a bank, for example, on the main street of Yellowknife, but they have not in fact visited here themselves. That has repercussions because in fact business here in the north or people who go

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1 to banks for business reasons find that where the
2 local manager is extremely enthusiastic about giving
3 you money, that he wants to give you the support which
4 is due to you, he finds that in many cases that's as
5 far as his support can go, because the actual decision
6 for lending the money is made in Calgary or Edmonton
7 or for that matter, if it's a large sum, in the Board
8 rooms of Eastern Canada. In that case the financial
9 institutions have a great deal to contribute to northern
10 business and to improve on in this particular area.

11 One of the other areas that
12 financial institutions or lending institutions I think
13 are weak on is the fact that they give no credit to
14 experience. For example, you will find that many
15 people who come to the north, come with an employer.
16 They are here for a number of years and they find that
17 they can contribute more to the community by starting
18 up their own business. Most probably because of the
19 high cost of living here, they have not saved as much
20 money as they would like to, and have probably not
21 enough money to start their own business. So as a
22 result, they go to a lending institution and ask for
23 funding based on their experience, and invariably and
24 in almost all cases that I'm familiar with, they've
25 been turned down.

26 This leads to another aspect
27 of where financing is almost non-available and that is
28 for operating purposes. For example, a lending institution
29 would be only very pleased to give you money to buy
30 capital assets, a car, building or land; but ask them

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1 for money for example to buy inventory or to buy or
2 to meet payroll costs for the next month, and they are
3 simply not interested in discussing it.

4 Now the reluctance to lend
5 money by financial institutions, I can recognize in
6 many cases, has been the result of northern business
7 men in being ~~uneducated~~, refined, of having recogniz-
8 able track records in the field of business. Many
9 northern business men are young, and if they're not
10 young in age they're certainly young in experience.
11 When it comes to lending money, many of the financial
12 institutions want to have someone who has had some
13 experience. Your enthusiasm, your willingness to work,
14 are all assumptions which do not really stand up when
15 it comes to lending you money.

16 Well then, you -- the obvious
17 extension of this is, well what happens, where does
18 that young business man or where does the mature business
19 man who has little experience get his advice? He has
20 to go to a professional for advice. It's usually, in
21 this community or other northern communities to
22 the legal or accounting profession. Sometimes they
23 go to the quasi professional people who, I think, fill
24 a major need in most communities. But because business
25 has become so complex, it's almost a necessity to have
26 the best advice you can obtain. Well, what does the
27 legal and accounting profession say about their
28 area, because don't forget they're probably very
29 closely involved with small business?

30 I want to just leave the

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In Chief

1 legal profession because I think probably most small
2 businesses go first of all to an accounting firm, if
3 they want advice. It's, their business is more
4 identifiable with dollars and cents and therefore
5 they approach the accountant. The problem with account-
6 ing people or personnel in the north is that first of
7 all there aren't enough. Secondly, it's very difficult
8 to obtain these people. They are attracted by the
9 better environment and living conditions in the south,
10 but if they come up here, the biggest competitor for
11 professional people is government themselves. Govern-
12 ment probably siphon off more of the better profes-
13 sional people who are brought here by business than
14 any other institution.

15 There are good and ample
16 reasons for this, certainly government can provide
17 higher salaries, lower rental housing, more and better
18 employee benefits. So it's a natural inclination that
19 these professional people should want to receive these
20 benefits.

21 Well, the extension to this
22 is that in order to pay these higher salaries for
23 professional people, the accounting or legal profession
24 can always charge the small business man more money.
25 And the small business man could always, you know,
26 counteract this by charging the consumer more money,
27 and since one of the larger consumers in the north is
28 government, well the government would turn around and
29 probably raise the corporate taxes of the small business
30 man. So it's a vicious circle and there isn't really
a clear-cut answer to this.

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1 I know that sounds pretty
2 pessimistic, but I'm certainly not, about the success
3 or failure of business in the North.

4 I want to just touch on one
5 particular item I think that's important, because one
6 of the major problems here is not so much servicing
7 or getting a good price for your product from government.
8 I think that the government recognises the costs of
9 small business and do pay it. But one of the problems
10 is getting government contracts, getting the business
11 in the first place. And the one time that seems to be
12 the major obstacle for small business getting government
13 contracts is the bid bond, a performance bond. For
14 example, if a janitor was to apply for a cleaning contract,
15 and it was \$90,000, he would have to submit a ten
16 percent bid bond, or \$9,000, with his contract. And
17 many small businesses just haven't got that kind of
18 liquid cash, particularly if they are just starting
19 out. And likewise with a performance^{bond}, you have to have
20 a certain liquid aspect of the contract in order to
21 receive it. That eliminates a lot of small
22 business, small time businesses from getting involved
23 in the economic activity. This is also true in the
24 contracting or building business, and it's particularly
25 true and in fact the community of Hay River, where
26 a lot of the revenue there is generated by construction,
27 and where government contracts are very important.

28 One of the other aspects I
29 think is, the relationship of small business with large
30 firms. And certainly if we anticipate greater economic

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1 activity than we have now, this problem will increase.
2 But it's a prominent one now. Most small businesses
3 in the North at this stage are subcontractors. They
4 become involved with a larger firm from the south,
5 in either building a building or supplying maintenance
6 on a particular project. And the small businesses
7 is very dependant on, as I just explained, on getting
8 his operating capital, because first the lending
9 institutions wouldn't give him that operating capital,
10 so what he does, the owner of the company probably
11 operates without a salary for three or four months and
12 depends on the, his receipts from the general contractor
13 to carry his company. What has happened is that large
14 companies, because they wish to stretch their own
15 operating capital as far as they can, do so at the
16 expense of the small contractor, and simply do not pay
17 him. In many cases, I think this can be documented,
18 many of ^{our} small contractors just have simply gone out of
19 business, because the larger firms have'nt paid them.
20 I think that this was true of-- yes?

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
22 you mean delayed payment, as opposed to never paying at
23 all, or do you mean the latter?

24 A Well in the case of the
25 businesses went out of business, they probably didn't
26 receive the money at all. It probably went to their
27 creditors. In the case of them still being in business
28 then it was a delayed payment.

29 The challenge I think for small
30 business, is of course, in the North, is to be heard.

1 I think money is a major part of it, I think that
2 skilled personnel is a major part of being a successful
3 business in the North. I think that I want to just end
4 my remarks by saying that I think small business in the
5 North has to be synomous with the community. I don't
6 mean to say that my remarks here apply to every business
7 or to every community, I think that each one has their
8 own unique problems. Some of them could be tied together
9 with the remarks that I presented tonight. But you'll
10 find that small businessmen generally, are synomous
11 with municipal government, because a lot of people
12 who have small business also have a vested interest
13 in the community and serve on municipal government.
14 They are also organizers of people, and so much so that
15 one could say that unless you have small business in
16 any community, the people just don't have anything to
17 do. And that sometimes is a very costly, so I think it
18 is certainly a worthwhile objective that small business
19 be fostered, certainly fostered north of the 60th
20 par allel.

21 I think that we, all we have
22 to do is, if we want to optimistic about small business
23 in the North is look at some of the successes, and the
24 great successes which have occurred in the North, and
25 I'm sure that they are well known to you, Wardair, as
26 a man who started here and now has become almost a
27 national institution. Less well renowned but
28 certainly almost as well known, is Northwest Territories,
29 Airways, Northwest Territories Transport, Precambrian Shield
30 Resources, all had their beginning in this area, in the

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1 north of 60, and they have been very successful and they
2 all started as small businesses.

3 I would not be pessimistic
4 then in looking at these groups, saying you know, that
5 small business wouldn't thrive, because I believe it
6 will. Despite all the obstacles which I have mentioned.
7 I think it's important, I think, for all parties that
8 are dealing with the problems of trying to develop the
9 North is that there isn't a one simple solution to
10 development and there certainly isn't one simple
11 solution to getting an increase or getting ^{better} small business
12 operations in the Northwest Territories. There is a
13 multiplicity of problems , and these problems only
14 arise when you start to implement your ideas. I just
15 want to close and say that I think you know, that a
16 great deal has been said and studied about development
17 of the North, but only when one gets down on the field
18 and starts trying to play the game, can you truly
19 appreciated the intricacies and the difficulties which
20 are necessary to be successful in the field, and I think
21 that it is important that some of the ideas which are
22 excellent ideas, that are promoted by people get off
23 the ground and start being implemented, and only then
24 I think that we can consider that development is taking
25 place and can be of benefit to the people of the North.

26 I thank you Mr. Commissioner.

27 THE COMMISSIONER: Well let me
28 express my gratitude to Dr. Jamieson, Dr. Espie, Mr.
29 MacAleer for what has been a most useful and instructive
30 afternoon, and especially, my special thanks to Mr.

1 MacAleer, who on short notice has I think been of
2 enormous help to the Inquiry, and in no respect less
3 valuable in the contribution he made than his two
4 colleagues, on either side of him.

5 Well, Mr. Scott, where are we?

6 MR. SCOTT: I intend to tell
7 Mayor Robertson, if he's the still the mayor when we
8 get up there , that his flu didn't hurt us in any event.
9 (LAUGHTER)

10 THE COMMISSIONER: I think he
11 will still be the mayor.

12 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
13 can I suggest that we adjourn until nine o'clock
14 tomorrow morning?

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

16
17 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED UNTIL March 7, 1975)
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ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSED
MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC
IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND
SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE.

(Before the Hon. Mr. Justice T.R. Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

March 7, 1975.

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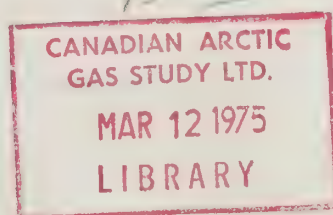
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L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

March 7, 1975.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
the first overview witness is Professor Louis Hamelin.

LOUIS-EDMOND HAMELIN, sworn:

THE SECRETARY: Give your
full name, please.

A Louis-Edmond Hamelin.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Professor Hamelin, what
is your present occupation?

A I am just a professor
at Laval University.

Q I take it that you're
a professor of geography, is that correct?

A Yes.

Q And that you're a graduate
with an M.A. in Economics from the University of Laval?

A Yes sir.

Q And you've done studies
since that in history, law and geology.

A Yes.

Q And that in addition
you're a Ph.D. in geography.

A Yes sir.

Q Have you done travelling
research and field work in the north of Canada?

A Yes, I been extensively.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 Q For how many years,
2 professor?

3 A Since 1948.

4 Q Yes, and I understand
5 that you've also done similar work in Eastern Siberia.

6 A I have not made research
7 in Eastern Siberia but I have travelled.

8 Q Yes, and I understand
9 that you organized the Centre of Northern Studies that
10 exists at the University of Laval.

11 A Yes.

12 Q And that you have been
13 for four years a member of the Territorial Council.

14 A Yes sir.

15 Q But are not running for
16 office.

17 A No.

18 Q And that you've written
19 a number of books published in various centres on
20 northern subjects.

21 A Yes sir.

22 Q And that you're in addi-
23 tion a member of the Canada Council, or have been a
24 member of the Canada Council and the Council of the
25 Environment.

26 A I have served as member.

27 Q Yes. Would you carry
28 on, professor?

29 A And I have been-- I will
30 say something else. You have not mentioned I have done
something wrong.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 Q Let's not go into that.
2 This is not one of my better days, Professor Hamelin.

3 A Thank you.

4 Mr. Justice Berger, the
5 political development of the Canadian Northern Territories,
6 the northern political development is not a new
7 matter for many Canadians. There are dozens of
8 political scientists, fisheries, administrators, or
9 even ordinary citizens, native or non-native, who know
10 this subject much better than I do. I apologize to
11 them for all misinterpretations I may make in a paper
12 of such a general and subjective nature as this. I
13 should prefer to speak on permafrost because it is a
14 safe subject, but not politics.

15 Now there is abundant literature
16 on the subject, as I told the Northwest
17 Territories Council when the Minister, Judd
18 Buchanan was in attendance, the debates of that
19 Council and of the Yukon Council show an inexhaustible
20 stock of northern good ideas. Nowhere in Canada we
21 could find a better collection of northern expertise
22 and opinions on every subject dealing with the north.
23 So I am condemned to repeat what has been said many
24 times. Specifically I am referring to works made by
25 Rea, Wonders, David Judd, the Carrothers Commission,
26 the 1972 Jean Cretien statement, and the Northwest
27 Territories Report on Provincial type responsibilities.

28 However, I will try to view
29 this massive factual information from two major perspectives.
30 The first is a principle which considers the

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 new idea of northness or nordicity in men and things;
2 this means if we do something in the north, let us do
3 it according to a northern spirit, a northern mentality.
4 This very northern approach cannot be taken for granted
5 among the powerful southerners who usually manage the
6 major decisions affecting the north. Above all, through
7 this nordicity principle, I should recommend to each of
8 us to estimate the quality of his own northern activity.
9 My second perspective deals with the objective of being
10 useful. It is easy to strongly criticize the terri-
11 torial situation, but it is important to see some ways
12 of getting out of what has been called a political
13 muskeg. Here and there suggestions will be made.
14 So my text is a mixture of idealistic and practical
15 matters.

16 In delivering my paper I had
17 the choice of following an easy chronological approach
18 (the past, the present, the future), or a more sophis-
19 ticated thematic line. I have chosen the latter as
20 it puts direct emphasis on some of the political
21 problems to be solved. Only three specific subjects
22 will be dealt with: The Federal presence in the north,
23 aspects of the Territorial Government, and local affairs.

24 The first part, the Federal
25 presence in the north. No one could challenge the
26 fact of massive federal activities inside the whole
27 Canadian north, for at least 20 years. Current and
28 non-military expenditures for the Territories alone
29 amount to nearly \$300 million per year. Moreover, the
30 Federal Government is also active in the northern parts

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 accepted by the south as an "A" or "B" priority budget
2 item; not regularly financed, that program will probably
3 never be carried out. This accounts for the difficul-
4 ties encountered by the Territorial Museum in
5 Yellowknife. In the name of national unity, the
6 north is to be made a region similar to the rest of the
7 country, a region not much different from Southern
8 Canada. The official approach has been to consider the
9 north merely as another south. The federal Minister
10 stated in 1972 that to discover what must be done in
11 the north one first had to decide what type of Canada
12 one wants. I call that, Mr. Justice, the sameness
13 approach.

14 In this perspective it is not
15 surprising that the Territorial resources are generously
16 offered to all Canadians, that is to say to indicate
17 that they are in trust for all people of Canada. The
18 harnessing of waterways for hydro shows such a subordin-
19 ation of the north to southern interests. The Canadian
20 or provincial need for hydro-electric power has created
21 or planned the great projects at Churchill, James Bay,
22 Nelson, River, Peace River, Aishihik. These involve the
23 regulating the flow of water, biological threats and
24 cultural upheavals in the name of national objectives
25 felt by southern people. The south justifies its
26 claim under the cover of "over-riding common good".
27 In the case of the north, this criterion cannot easily
28 be invoked for the northern region. is very poorly
29 represented within these agencies which decide the
30 nature of the common good. Both Territories have the

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 Federal Government as official spokesmen, the same
2 government which is at the same time both judge of
3 and party to the subject of conflict. The very
4 application of the principle of the common good may
5 well be jeopardized.

6 Southness. A peculiar
7 strategy of development has been based on the principle
8 of the over-riding importance of the national interest.
9 I call it "southness". According to this philosophy,
10 Southern Canada is the base for northern development,
11 whether the evolution be cultural, political or econ-
12 omic. However, Southern Canada has never taken the
13 north into account in its Constitutions, even 1867.
14 Such is the southness of the mentality of many
15 citizens from Southern Canada. Yet these people are
16 the very ones who decide what policies, strategies,
17 experiences will apply to the north and its inhabitants.
18 This is the heart of much of the malaise of the north;
19 the roots are in this standardizing, self-sufficient
20 and over-rated southness. The north cannot expect much
21 from such a mentality. How can optimum nordicity be
22 derived from a population almost totally southern and
23 non-Amerindian in its outlook?

24 Thus, inadequately represented
25 within national agencies, the north is likely to be
26 seldom treated as it really should.

27 The Federal Government seems
28 to have had a second basic principle for its northern
29 programs -- the federality principle.

30 If I may have the first slide.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 I don't know if you can read something, so watch the
2 better for the film.

3 According to this federal
4 principle of outlook, the central government claims
5 the right to dominate^{territorial} affairs. Such a position
6 has led to a very high concentration of northern
7 political power/ at the decision level. I don't know if we can have focus.

8 It is true that Section 91 of the B.N. Act and the
9 ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939 indicate
10 that Indians and Eskimos are a federal responsibility.
11 However, application of this legal authority seems to
12 me too legalistic. Thus the territorial power is
13 submitted to federal jurisdiction which initiated and
14 approves all northern legislation. The principle of
15 federality, of whose legitimacy, even some natives have
16 been convinced, has it that the central government can
17 negotiate directly with Americans with regard to their
18 economic development, their associations, and the land
19 question. Further to a literal application of^{the principle of} federal-
20 ity, the central government has issued legislation on
21 matters of provincial jurisdiction, thus in carrying
22 out its function the Federal Government in these
23 Territories almost borrows some of the attributes of
24 provinciality. In 1966 the Carrothers Report stated:
25 "In certain areas^{Federal} activities are analagous to
26 the responsibilities of the Provincial
27 Government."

28 Despite some changes in the meantime, the statement is
29 still accurate. By means of the principle of federality
30 Ottawa goes beyond the powers vested in a central

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 government. The two principles of Canadianity and
2 federality do not suffice to account for all the
3 characteristic of Ottawa's northern operation. One
4 of these has to do with the proliferation of
5 structures. It is the least of the principle federality
6 dealing with the north. There are 61. It
7 results from the historical sequence of the governments
8 themselves. Multiplicity of agencies is rampant among
9 governments.

More than one observer has noted that it was necessary to be more than skillful to keep within the Department of Northern Affairs, what^{appeared} to be incompatible elements: ecological concerns, big business development and Native interests. But Ottawa has recognized the difficulties inherent in its internal relations with regard to the North and, as early as 1947, established a coordinating committee for Northern Development.

In Chief

1 But despite the high level officials it boast, this
2 agency was seen by R.A.J. Phillips, in 1962, as not
3 having sufficient powers to carry out its function, and
4 not enough liberty of action, in view of the rigourousness
5 of the budgetary deadlines of the Treasury Board. In
6 Ottawa, in spite of the liaison efforts of the ad hoc
7 committee, the federal agencies dealing with the North
8 seen often at the periphery with regard to Department of
9 Northern Affairs, no the Department of Northern Affairs
10 is just lost you know, in all that list. Polar concerns
11 came too late in the general organization of Canadian
12 political structures: other administrative powers, un-
13 concerned by the North, have taken the first choice.

14 Furthermore, there is too much
15 breakdown of responsibilities into sectors. If it is
16 delightful to hear qualified technicians discusssing their
17 field of specialization, it is disheartening to see a
18 system which barely deals with the whole series of
19 problems closely related to one specific program.
20 Administrative compartmentalization connected with
21 specialization discourages the discovery of over-all
22 ideas on a given subject. In spite of the cumbersome
23 mechanisms for consultations, the numerous agencies
24 dealing with the North have, once all is said and done,
25 taken most of their decisions in a rather autonomous
26 fashion. Singleness of purpose was not a characteristic
27 of the Northern activity of the central government.

28 May we go back to the light
29 please?

30 To conclude that first part of

In Chief

1 of our paper, let us make some recommendations.

2 Three steps could put operations
3 on a better footing. First, I think we have to question
4 the saying that development is going too fast, that
5 evolution is taking place too quickly; thus some people
6 are asking for a temporary freeze to allow Northern
7 citizens to adapt to the dynamics of the society. But
8 this opinion, however accurate, does not encourage
9 Southerners into a self evaluation, nor would a temporary
10 pause or slow-down in development inject more nordicity
11 into the program. Instead of letting southerners ask
12 themselves "are we moving too fast", invite them to
13 check if their programs are the best and the right ones.
14 We could cite many instances which show that Southerners
15 have moved too slowly, for example, in providing a
16 sufficient number of jobs for the northern people,
17 Another example, in using indigenous languages in school,
18 half of the population does not speak English as mother
19 language in school and in some administrative services.
20 The question of pertinence of activities is no less
21 important than the question of their tempo.

22 My second recommendation is
23 deals with the loose field of provincial-type
24 responsibilities, a field still ruled by the Department
25 of Indian and Northern Affairs in the Territories. Here,
26 the Federal government has a choice of three attitudes:
27 (a) the traditional one in which the department has
28 repeated that it will not relinquish these responsibilities
29 in the foreseeable future; (b) the dynamic attitude by
30 which the Federal government could initiate a real

In Chief

1 transfer of responsibilities to the Territorial
2 Governments; and to avoid misinterpretation here, I have
3 in mind a transfer of power not just a permission to
4 do subordinated action. Such a meaningful transfer,
5 long desired, could soon be on its way, I hope; (c) the
6 third alternative is to put the matter before a political
7 "tribunal". On some grounds such a tribunal seems
8 badly needed. When a constitutional dispute develops be-
9 tween the Federal Government and Territories, what
10 generally happens? Sir, the problem cannot even be
11 termed a "dispute", because the Federal Government
12 in its own way may solve it in house, through its own
13 legal expertise or through the Office of the Department
14 of Justice. The Territories believe that they would
15 have a stronger bid if an independent entity could ^{settle} the
16 case. The chances of receiving attention are no better
17 if we consider the very status of the problem. Of course
18 an appeal from the North is an appeal for more Southern
19 comprehension of Northern matters. On that ground,
20 Northerners are very often losing candidates from the
21 start. It is very, very possible, just to say that
22 the powerful officers in Ottawa who settle the cases
23 in their offices have not acquired before a sufficiently
24 northern mentality. Hence the North needs another way
25 to look at its constitutional situation: and that way
26 I suggest it could be a political tribunal before which
27 the North may present its own case. At the top, there
28 should be, maybe a man like you Mr. Justice, an ombudsman
29 who knows the northern mentality and has the prestige
30 and the rank of a Justice of the Supreme Court.

My second part deals with the Territorial governemnts. In this second of our paper, I would like to consider some other elements of the

1 Federal-Territorial relations as seen this time through
2 the eyes of the territorial capitals of Whitehorse and
3 Yellowknife.

4 Again, three themes only will
5 be considered: the set of administrative liaisons
6 between the Federal and the Territorial Governments; the
7 role of the Territorial Council; and public finances in
8 both territories.

9 Can we go back to the screen?

10 1. Administrative Federal-Territorial Relations

11 In so far as the sharing of
12 powers between the Federal and Territorial Governments
13 is concerned, the term "dispersion" of duties would be
14 appropriate. On one hand, the legislative and administra-
15 tive matter as such comes under several authorities.
16 On the other hand, in most cases, it is not the real
17 power or a complete unit of operation which has been
18 conferred by the Federal to the Territorial. Listen to
19 these articles of the Constitution of the Northwest
20 Territories: Articles 1(a) and 2 of the same section
21 24 give a good example of the kind of relations. I
22 quote, "The Commissioner in Council, may make ordinances
23 for the borrowing of money" So is clear. Three lines
24 later, I quote, "No money shall be ^{borrowed} without the approval
25 of the Governor of Council" so where are we?

26 Such contradictory indications give a false
27 notion of the the Commissioner in Council. Section 13
28 of the same Act cause inattentive readers to confuse
29 territorial with provincial situations; in fact, the
30 former has a subordinate capability, the latter being a

In Chief

1 sovereign capability as ordained in Article 92 of the
2 BNA act. The Federal Government has not really "shared"
3 the legislative northern authority; it has merely delegated
4 to either of the Territorial Governments a part of a
5 part of its powers.

6 This table showed sharing of
7 duties, can only account for generalized situations; in
8 each case, it would be necessary to give a detailed
9 description of the decision-making and operational
10 thresholds separating Federal prerogative from the
11 Territorial participation. For instance, exclusion
12 of budgetary autonomy from the basic powers of the
13 Territorial Council under Section 21, includes one
14 exception: the setting of the indemnities to members;
15 it is a very dangerous exception. Moreover, the
16 threshold of separation of powers constantly varies, as
17 shown by housing, in which Northwest Territories Council

18 will have a greater input. Be that as it may, one
19 remains with a distinct impression of the complexity of
20 the points of contacts between the powers of Ottawa and
21 the powers of the Territorial Government. In each
22 field, I can give an example, from the Scientific
23 Ordinance; Territorial Scientific Ordinance, I quote,
24 "The present situation is anomalous. The right to
25 regulate scientists is specifically given to the
26 Territorial Government. Any investigations are carried
27 out by Territorial staff. However, administration of that
28 ordinance is still formally considered a Federal
29 responsibility, and Federal Staff are involved".
30 Where are we? In each field, the level of contact,

1 the feeling of cooperation and the progressiveness of
2 the situations vary. In some cases, Ottawa's domination
3 is exclusive, in others, major, are unevenly shared, or
4 minor. There are even very complicated areas of inter-
5 governmental jurisdiction within single fields, in
6 health, for instance: look at that, health care for
7 White men and Metis is administered by the Territories;
8 health care for Natives, by the Federal Government;
9 public health schemes are a joint venture; medicare costs
10 for the Natives are paid by the Federal Government to
11 the Territorial Government, which administers the program.
12 Where are we?

13 (LAUGHTER)

14 A letter from I think
15 John Barker with his great administrative ability, can
16 navigate on these waters.

17 (LAUGHTER)

18 A letter of the Minister of
19 National Health and Welfare, published in a national
20 item in the Department of Information, Yellowknife
21 Government, dated June 18, 1973, shows the difficulties
22 in interpreting the Constitution:
23
24
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L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 So the idea to get a tribunal, you know, may be a -- you
2 will accept that. I quote the letter of the Minister:

3 "The Council, in its motion, makes reference
4 to the health services in the Northwest Terri-
5 tories as 'provincial type services' --"

6 and the Minister says:

7 "I am afraid I cannot quite agree. More than
8 50% of the population are native people and as
9 you are aware, the health needs of this group
10 have traditionally been supplied as a matter
11 of policy, by the Federal Government. In addi-
12 tion to our Indian and Eskimo health program, the
13 Federal Government has responsibility for such
14 matters as Civil Aviation, medicine, quarantine,
15 immigration, which require a Federal medical
16 presence throughout the nation. Thus a larger
17 portion of Northwest Territories health services
18 are of a federal rather than a provincial
19 orientation."

20 The letter of the Minister. It is thus a broken line,
21 a zig-zag shaped fence which separates working levels
22 of both governments. Convergence and friction caused
23 the establishment of a new special committee for co-
24 operation, itself an off-shoot of the intra-federal co-
25 ordination committee. But all such aposteriori
26 organizing agencies are awkward and costly.

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1 structure is partly reflected in the number of adminis-
2 trators needed to deal with the Federal Territorial
3 affairs; such sectionalism in administration requires
4 an army of civil servants. Yesterday a man spoke of
5 12,00 servantsten years ago. Multiply that by ten.

6 Many civil servants occupy just a middleman
7 situation. Other impacts includes the total cost
8 of operation and, unfortunately, the chance of
9 losing the objective of the program along the
10 route. That non-linear way of doing things is not
11 favourable to the expression of northness.

12 The role of Territorial
13 Council. You see on that slide the title in French.
14 of the
15 Anyway, the personage elected the numbers.

16 YOU can see that Yukon
17 Territory reached very rapidly the totally elected
18 council. We have that 67 years and the Northwest
19 Territories Council after having it between 1888
20 to 1905 lost it for a very long time and it is only
21 in 1951 that one elected member came up,
22 and starting next Monday all the council will be
23 elected, so the appointed member will go south
24 again.

25 This historical institution
26 is one of the most original political structures in
27 Canada, the council. There are therefore a whole
28 series of fundamental questions to be
29 answered about it. How can one reconcile its
30 venerability with its still subordinate status?
Are its members representative of the North ?

1 In what sense is it a Parliament or Government? How
2 does it carry out its responsibilities? What power
3 does it wield before the Executive?

4 May we go back to the light,
5 please.

6 The influence of the Council
7 can be examined under several aspects. On the
8 constitutional level, the Northwest Territories Act
9 merely specifies which legislative questions it is
10 empowered to handle, in a subordinate fashion,
11 The Council is not a true Parliament to which the
12 Executive should be answerable. Yet, before the
13 Executive it is merely an advisory institution which
14 is most anachronistic. In view of its legal subor-
15 dinate status, such a Council is a kind of duplicate
16 House where members try their hand, in an empirical
17 way and almost by proxy, at duties they would like
18 to actually perform.

19 Nor is the council a "government"
20 which can order the administration to implement pro-
21 grams; the cry made by councillor elect Duncan Pryde,
22 in 1968 -- I quote: "We are the government" --
23 has been invalidated by legal advisors in Ottawa. It
24 sometimes happens that the Commissioner accepts as mere
25 suggestions motions or private bills; however, the
26 Council is a part of Territorial institution, it
27 does not appear on the chart of the Territorial
28 Government published in the annual report of the
29 Commissioner, but it will come.

30 The Commissioner needs the Council for approval of

1 legislative measures. Even though the negative
2 power of consent held by the Council is more
3 legislative than administrative by nature,
4 it is nevertheless a legally recognized morsel of
5 power.

6
7 Ottawa's insistence on
8 legalities has contributed to the development of a
9 moral role for the Council, which has fostered the
10 latter's excessive fondness for words. The debate of
11 the century has 50,000 pages.
12 As it does not have the full power of decision or of
13 implementation, the council uses, ever increasingly, the
14 power of statement and declaration--I took there
15 that disease, you know. It makes its view known.
16 The press jumps at whatever opinions
17 are expressed and when the council is in session, one
18 frequently finds the major English newspapers of the
19 South voicing the opinions of the little group of men
20 in Yellowknife or Whitehorse; at times, according to
21 the interests of the national political parties, the
22 Council has an unsuspected clout. The council's moral
23 role is due in part to the fact that it can, spontan-
24 eously, deal with each and every area of concern in
25 the North, even those which go beyond the qualifica-
26 tions of the Federal Department of Northern Affairs.
27 There is, to our knowledge, no other equivalent
28 spokesman for the North in Canada (you have the
29 same thing for the Council of Yukon). An excellent
30 example of the Northwest Territories Council's
knowledgeability was given during discussion of the

1 events at the Yellowknife Correctional Institution.
2 The proceedings cover no less than 44 pages in the
3 Debates. The problem, which was minor in scope,
4 crystallized many comments with regard to the
5 social malaise in the Territories; such questions
6 as relations between Whites and Natives, staff morale,
7 adjustment of workers, religion, Native labour,
8 translation services, the inacceptability of confinement
9 for Amerindians used to wide open spaces,
10 adult education, occupations for people waiting
11 out their sentences, isolation of prisoners exiled
12 in Southern goals, the split between central and
13 regional power, all these questions were raised.
14 Such observations made by the Council contribute to
15 the formation of better Northern policies and I hope
16 the debates are read.

17 Another way of convincing
18 one's self of the usefulness of both Councils,
19 Northwest Territories and Yukon, would be to list the
20 many good suggestions designed to better adapt the
21 structures, what is to ^{to} say/ensure a better nordicity.
22 Among these, one might mention the reduction
23 of "hostel" services, Northern content school programs,
24 publication of newsletters in the native languages,
25 community and village participation in local school
26 administration, as it is the case in Edzo, construction
27 of village roadways by young workers learning to
28 operate heavy equipment, regional adjustment of the
29 hunting season in accordance with the movements
30 of migratory birds, community heating oil reservoir,

1 access to home ownership, organization of a corps
2 of interpreters, government assistance for
3 transportation of essential foodstuffs, like milk.
4 Only in the Yellowknife and Whitehorse Council files
5 can one find so exhaustive a list of things to be done
6 in the North. We have just to read. The Federal and
7 Provincial legislatures do not come anywhere near
8 providing such a series of Northern-content
9 suggestions.

10 The future of the Council
11 sir, may be seen in two steps. The first one could
12 be accentuation of its leadership. In spite of its
13 important regulatory or ^{declamative} role, the Council
14 does not take sufficient action. The lengthy scrutiny
15 of the budget, already approved in principle by the
16 Federal and sometimes even partly spent, does not
17 allow the Council to systematically guide the
18 Territorial administration and, indirectly, the North-
19 ern policies of Ottawa. Bryan Pearson was quite right
20 in stating, I quote: "Our role is to set up
21 guidelines and priorities"; under the present circum-
22 stances, this comment seems to be of prime importance.
23 Councillors are just as concerned with inspiring admin-
24 istrators as with evaluating their proposals and
25 activities. A second objective for the Council
26 should concern a device for what I have called a
27 "post - territorial" Government. Some political
28 evolution is a must. In the near future,
29 sir, the Federal or the South will have to give some
30 more real responsibility to Northerners. IN the

1 for a political device, who will take the initiative
2 of and who has to contribute most to? Without a doubt
3 the Federal Minister of Northern and Indian Affairs on
4 one hand and the Territorial Councils with people
5 among those who are to be directly involved in that
6 exercise. Different ways and means can be set up.
7 I will mention ^{but} two. Following up a suggestion
8 made ten years ago by the Carrothers Commissioner, a
9 new advisory body may be formed. May I suggest that
10 if such a thing is established, we are already late,
11 but anyway, it should not be just a federal departmental
12 agency as the Carrothers Commission was. Let us think
13 instead of a comprehensive body of which half of the
14 members are appointed by the central Government and
15 the other half by representative territorial insti-
16 tutions. Such a Royal commission should be
17 chaired by an independent Northerner perhaps from
18 an other polar country. Alternatively the political
19 future of the Territories may be seen by a series of
20 public conferences, as used a century ago in preparing
21 the Confederation Act. Instead of collecting ideas
22 going down from the top -- we have a big father on
23 the Ottawa River -- why not collect also ideas coming
24 up from the bottom from the people in their villages
25 and towns? Settlement councils with the active
26 participation of the members of the Northwest
27 Territories Council and the Yukon Council could help
28 lead such discussions. After the first round,
29 exactly as in 1965 -- 1865 - 1866 -- after the first
30 round of public commitment, the territorial councillors

1 would prepare a statement describin g the main findings.
2 The reaction of administrators, the public, the
3 federal Government, and the provincial Government.
4 to this initial statement would be useful in indicating
5 the direction of the secon, round of meetings and
6 conferences which again would take place in all
7 settlements, large and small.
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1 This proposal presents a
2 formula for a truly northern government . In a paper
3 published last year in Saskatoon I tried to list the
4 matters to be considered by participants in these
5 political conferences and I don't repeat them.
6 Then the northern agreements really presented and
7 debated in the Council of Northwest Territories and
8 the Yukon Territory thereafter, ^{these councillors} would be in a
9 position to present, to discuss and to defend a very
0 northern concept, what we believe is nordicity, a very
1 northern concept before Canadian Parliament and the
2 public. This concept would be an alternative, because
3 we have no alternative now, it will be an alternative
4 to the existing Territorial Governments which are
5 so dependent on a southern mentality. A national
6 conference consisting of Territorial Governments,
7 provinces and Federal Government could take place to
8 make final decisions and execute them. It is only at
9 that time, sir, only at that time ten years from now
0 approximately that for the first time since the
1 Canadian Government received from Great Britain its
2 northern territory, it will be the first time that a
3 comprehensive northern formula could be put to work.
4 Then we could expect that the Territorial Councils
5 would attain the status of truly legislative assemblies,
6 not only by name, not only because all the members are
7 elected, but as legislative entities with effective
8 power to initiate policies right here in the north,
9 choose their premiers, and control the executive part
0 of government.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 May I have a slide, please?

2 Territorial Public Finances.

3 A - Territorial budgets. It is recognized that
4 administration of the north is expensive. In 1971 at
5 a time when social services cost \$1,500 per Canadian
6 they cost \$3,000 per capita in the Yukon and \$4,000
7 in the Northwest Territories. A summary study of the
8 budget not only shows governmental contribution to
9 the economic growth, but also a political definition of
10 the north. As for many other things, the territorial
11 budgets are set up like the Federal Government's finan-
12 cial operations and specifically must be approved by
13 the Cabinet in Ottawa.

14 The reader of that table
15 cannot miss two of the characteristics of the Territor-
16 ial expenditures.

17 (1) The absence of certain areas to be found in similar
18 Federal tables, such as defence, External Affairs,
19 or in provincial tables, such as mines. Territorial
20 Governments do not issue legislation on every
21 subject. Legislatively speaking, they are in-
22 complete institutions. Such limitations will render
23 it difficult to compare the percentages of depart-
24 mental expenditures in the Territories, on one
25 hand, and in various other levels of governments
26 in Canada on the other.

27 (2) The Northwest Territories Government deals mostly
28 with provincial matters, with the exception of
29 almost all resources. Specifically, education,
30 municipal affairs, social development and health

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In Chief

1 account for 60% of the total Northwest Territories
2 budget, and between 40 and 45 of the Yukon budget.
3 The Territories thus seem more concerned with the
4 social and mental well-being of individuals than
5 with economic affairs as such. This policy was not
6 decided by the Territories; it results from the
7 threshold of powers delegated by the Federal
8 Government.

9 At present the Federal Govern-
10 ment holds very significant powers in the fields of
11 resources and economic development, while the Territories
12 try to manage social services, education and municipal
13 affairs. This cleavage between production and tertiary
14 concerns is prejudicial to such sectors of employment
15 that require massive concentration of the various
16 elements affecting a given society. The present shar-
17 ing does not encourage a combined and integrated policy.
18 The often harsh relations between Ottawa and Yellowknife
19 and Whitehorse pose the pan-Canadian problem of balance of governmental
20 levels within confederation. Any territorial gains will
21 be determined in part by this pendulum-like alternation
22 of centralization and decentralization which typifies
23 internal politics in Canada.

24 B - A chronic deficit. To meet Territorial expenditures
25 there must be revenue at hand or revenue from outside.
26 To what extent are territorial expenditures backed by
27 northern revenues? Better yet, how do the territories
28 finance their operations?

29 There are two ways of evaluat-
30 ing the surplus of expenditures over revenues within

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 within either of the Territories.

2 First, the level of internal
3 gains. Revenues strictly from Northwest Territories
4 ~~sources~~ up to -- amount to a mere 6-7 to 17 of the
5 annual budget. Two main items make up the \$10 million
6 involved: Liquor Board profits and fuel taxes. In
7 the Yukon, internal revenues representing 21% in 1972 .
8 The Federal Government rounds out the budget in three
9 main ways: direct grants, loans and share programs.
10 The inevitability of outside help is recognized. I
11 quote Commissioner

12 "With a population of 40,000 it is very difficult
13 to be able to find some kind of a basis by which
14 you can raise the necessary capital, necessary
15 funds to do the things that people today want you
16 to do."

17 Second, the public finances
18 of Territorial Governments can be studied on the basis
19 of an estimate resulting from responsibility sharing
20 by federal and provincial governments. According to
21 an economist, Mr. Yates, the Territorial contribution
22 in the large sense of the term accounts for only 21%
23 of the provincial type budget if territories ^{were a} province.
24 This redistribution of budgetary masses had to be
25 imagined since some provincial responsibilities are
26 presently held by the Federal Department of Indian
27 Affairs. Other computations still made in analogy to
28 provincial situations show that at present the terri-
29 torial contribution cannot exceed 40% of the expendit-
30 ures. The magnitude of the deficit (\$125 million) and

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In Chief

1 its annual repetition make it almost impossible to
2 solve.

3 C - Transfer of Resources. Can one conceive of the
4 future as an extension of the status quo? Can one
5 think of restraining further autonomy until budgetary
6 balance is much more of a possibility? Yet within the
7 spirit of the traditional sharing of powers between
8 the Federal and Provincial Governments, the Territor-
9 ies still have a means of increasing their own revenue,
10 control of natural resources (minerals, fuels, water,
11 soils, forest and fisheries). Alsama (Alberta,
12 Saskatchewan and Manitoba) created a fortunate precedent
13 when, after 25 years of semi-provincial status, they
14 were permitted to take over jurisdiction of their
15 own resources. It would seem that if the Territory
16 had such control, they could collect several tens of
17 millions of dollars more each year, in fact spectacular
18 development of northern fuels could produce royalties
19 similar to those which have made Alberta so prosperous.
20 According to Northwest Territories Council Committee,
21 15% royalties on an annual production of 800 billion
22 cubic feet of gas would yield government revenue in
23 excess of \$100 million. So it means that we could
24 reach what is called here equity of a province.
25 But these encouraging prospects are dulled by three
26 elements.

27 (1) The territorialization of resources would increase
28 annual expenditures by several tens of millions of
29 dollars, at least during the next few years; the profits
30 could thus go down the drain.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 (2) It is fair to expect some deficits if the
2 Territories can't control its resources.

3 The Federal Government would have to change its
4 attitude regarding the use the territories intend to make
5 of the increased revenues. At present the Federal
6 Government considers that such increases should not
7 be used to finance new programs, but to reduce the
8 chronic deficit of the overall operations. Such an
9 attitude, logical from a bookkeeping point of view, is
10 not stimulating; quite the contrary, it encourages
11 territorial passivity.

12 (3) Finally as a non-permanence characterized the
13 mining adventures, it would be very risky to closely
14 connect royalties and budgetary balance for the
15 Territorial Governments. What will happen after the
16 year 2000 when the fuel reserves are all but exhausted,
17 or when the North American economy has gone into the
18 post-petroleum era? Will the Territorial Government
19 go bankrupt? Will they go back to a previous status,
20 as Newfoundland did from 1934 to 1949 under Great
21 Britain? It would seem dangerous to make resources
22 control the absolute condition of political evolution.
23 especially for the distant future.

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L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 However, it is clear that with their resources, the
2 Territorial Governments will be able to improve the
3 position of their administrative operations. As for
4 budgetary balance of their administrative operations
5 of a kind ensured by secured loans, it would seem
6 difficult to attain. Other solutions must therefore
7 be sought.

8 May I have the light, please?

9 The principle of financial
10 self-sufficiency. One possibility would be that the
11 Federal Government abandon the prior condition of total
12 financial self-sufficiency. In other words, the Terri-
13 tories would be officially recognized as partly suppor-
14 ted by Canada. In fact, the Federal Government applies
15 this principle of assistance for several provinces.
16 It is normal that the whole country come to help its
17 handicapped members; isolation, ice, the small population
18 and the difficulties of development are not caused by
19 northerners. Quite to the contrary, they are the
20 standard-bearers of Canadianization over more than half
21 of the national territory. The nordicity of the coun-
22 try could therefore be seen as a national responsibility,
23 and declared as such as western commercial farming was
24 during the '30's. Actually, the Federal Government acts
25 already as recognized, the principle of a quasi-uncondi-
26 tional undertaking with respect to the north.

27 Such acceptance of this
28 principle of assistance may be by national referendum
29 recommended in Canada, which is close to the
30

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 historical evolution of Canada could bring the Federal
2 Government to transfer to the Territorial Governments
3 some real power, for instance why not a major portion
4 of financial control? Ottawa's hesita-
5 tion to give more financial freedom to the Council is
6 due in part to the healthy tradition which provides for
7 approval of public expenditures only after a careful
8 study. At present, in the Federal context, they
9 come under double scrutiny: first by the official of
10 the Departments concerned, especially the Department of
11 Northern Affairs, second, the budget has to be discussed
12 in the House. Yet very few M.P.'s know enough about
13 the north to act in a truly responsible manner. This
14 is an old situation which is in part responsible for
15 the often dubious quality of official northern policies.
16 We suggest, sir, that the principle of scrutiny be main-
17 tained but improved. How do we do that? Rather than
18 being applied in Ottawa, it should be applied inside
19 these Territories, by an assembly aware of the real
20 problems. It's not the case of the House of Commons
21 in Ottawa for Northern Affairs, Only a Territorial
22 Government re-organized at the legislative and
23 executive levels could adequately ensure this essential
24 control of public monies in the north.

25 As we have said, the
26 Territorial budget would draw from four main sources:
27 Internal revenues which depend on the scale of mining
28 operations, shared cost of programs, secured loans
29 and national nordicity grants which would be statutory
30 but variable.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 of any given locality. So through calculations made from
2 a specific northern index, a middle north zone has been
3 differentiated from a far north zone. Each of these
4 regions with its own interests and drawbacks requires
5 adapted development in the ecological as well as the
6 cultural field.

7 A single application to this
8 areal modification concerns the northern allowances,
9 which a government or a company may agree to pay to non-
10 resident workers. If developers become involved in such
11 a scheme, allowances should be scaled to the degree of
12 the nordicity; this means that the labor force located
13 in the high Arctic will receive a greater bonus than
14 workers in the middle north. A table provides examples
15 of such a differential allowances package. For instance
16 a worker in SACHs should receive \$2,800 a year
17 and a worker in let us say Rankin, 1,800. It is
18 scaled to nordicity of this Territory.

19 The heterogenous aspect of
20 the north could lead to a big issue in future; namely
21 regional economic disparity, a problem currently
22 facing Southern Canada. In the north, development is
23 spontaneously creating a great discrepancy between the
24 Mackenzie Valley and the Eastern Arctic. A similar
25 unevenness is apparent in the Yukon if one compares
26 Greater Whitehorse with the non-capital area.

27 In the south, we know how cost-
28 ly and difficult it is to solve such a regional problem; let
29 us try not to create excessive disparities in the
30 north which future generations would have to cope with.

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 Anyone considering the concentration of activities
2 in the Mackenzie region through the centralizing forces
3 of the Territorial Government, the distribution of
4 seats of Northwest Territories Council, the Federal
5 program to construct new major airports, (there are 8
6 along the Mackenzie Valley), and the massive investments
7 for fuels should, with reason, be worried about the
8 magnitude of the future intra-territorial inequality.
9 I wonder if we have not to apply again here a balanced
10 approach, such an intra-regional consideration could
11 fall under a kind of regionality principle.

12 May we go back to light
13 again, please?

14 Ethnic diversity. We all
15 know that population in the Northwest Territories is
16 partly native, partly white. This fact has been formally
17 recognized many times, for instance in Treaty No. 11 and
18 the judgment of Mr. Justice W.C. Morrow. Last January
19 half of the elected councillors of the Northwest Terri-
20 tories were of indigenous origin. White people are
21 used to the peaceful presence of natives. They have
22 even thought there was no distinction among ethnic
23 groups. It has been printed in the debate. The white
24 population which has almost total control, could believe
25 that the policy for integrating the natives had been
26 successful.

27 But something has changed
28 during the last few years, namely the growth of the
29 political power of the native people. In one sense,
30 the reactions of Indians and Inuit are an empirical

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 answer to the non-native major forces which have
2 ruled the modern development of the north. Indigenous
3 people, helped by grants from Federal Government, have
4 engaged in a moral resistance to the type of develop-
5 ment still decided from outside the north. Native
6 political involvement crystallizes around urgent pro-
7 blems which must be solved, for example schooling,
8 languages, alcohol abuse, hunting, economic and human
9 benefits from big economic schemes, and above all,
10 land issues. Every one may realize that most of these
11 matters of concern have been accentuated with the white
12 penetration in the north. Southerners have hastened
13 the political awareness of the natives. These people
14 have reacted promptly by re-instituting former bodies,
15 organizing strong new associations and participating
16 in southern type political structures. It may be that
17 there are too many parallels, formulas and indeed a danger
18 of futile opposition and factionalism. More, the
19 natives find a way to publish many newspapers, to be
20 heard on the radio, to create expressive slogans,

21 "Land, not money,"

22 to declare their claim in a caveat form. Without a
23 doubt the natives in a few years have become a new
24 political factor on the northern scene, a fact which
25 profoundly changes the rules of the game. In the face
26 of this cultural and political emergence, southerners
27 must again revise their mentality. Greater considera-
28 tion has to be given to native affairs. In fact,
29 the principle evoked here deals with a northern style,
30 multi-culturalism, and it is difficult because the

L.E. Hamelin
In Chief

1 Constitution has only two languages, but here in the
2 Territories we have six other ones.

3 Canada is surely not an easy
4 country culturally but if every category of northerners
5 were to look for a threshold of polyethnic compatibility
6 and to use the virtue of tolerance, even difficult
7 objectives could be achieved and provide deserved
8 happiness.

In Chief

1 May we go back to the dark
2 please?

3 3. Government of, by or for the people?

4 The title of that graph is
5 "Empirical (AD) and Theoretical (XY), Empirical and
6 Theoretical Development of Northern Governments" and
7 I will explain that, it is a kind of semantic approach
8 but I think it can be very useful to do something on
9 local levels.

10 Government of, by or for the
11 people? The Northwest Territories settlements are one
12 of the most interesting political laboratories in
13 Canada. There, we see a set of competitive formulas
14 originating from the Federal Government, the Territorial
15 Government in Yellowknife, the local Governments in
16 communities, the native groups and even some mining
17 companies. Above all, there are two trends, starting
18 at divergent points and going in opposite directions.
19 That figure illustrates these movements. On one hand
20 of course, the main line, we start from the top, (a)
21 we start from the Federal, we go to "b" the Territorial
22 from "b" to "c" Sub-Territorial, and from "c" to "d"
23 Local. So it's a very long way you know, to reach the
24 people. The Federal and Territorial Institutions from
25 the top have tried to provide even small localities
26 with southern municipal structures, and it was a good
27 idea. It is a governmental way-down. On the other hand,
28 Natives were start at "x", were engaged in some political
29 activities. Now, they are transcending the local level
30 and becoming increasingly involved in regional, federal

1 and even national affairs. We try to go to "y". It is
2 a political way-up. Of course, that view is only
3 partly true.

4 But it can help us to understand
5 some of the political problems at the local level; I
6 will mention three of them. First, the question of the
7 parallel development of political structures, at the
8 local level. In several localities in the North,
9 there are, in fact, more than one form of local government;
10 one is could be the band council, a band council
11 protected by the Federal Indian Act, always the Federal
12 interference, and the other, the national-like municip-
13 ality form of government that is more
14 from the Territorial Government. Although the first
15 can be part of the second the reverse is not true.
16 Another difficulty I mentioned the Northwest Territories
17 Council in 1974, January, considers how the political
18 forces coming from the top, from Ottawa or Yellowknife,
19 or Whitehorse, could meet the political forces that
20 develop from the bottom, from the people. I do not
21 know now these two powers could move along the very
22 single vertical line, because they are not the same
23 nordicity at the start. I don't know either
24 how far from the top how far from the bottom these
25 two movements can meet. Last, from now on politics
26 as such are not alone in influencing the evolution of
27 northern local government; the big economic affairs
28 will to add an industrial concern, an aspect much
29 different from the traditional scope. It could happen
30 that these non-political factors, the big companies

1 become the major components of municipal politics.
2 These three problems deserve suitable solution and quick;
3 the parallelism in structures ask for some merging, at
4 least some interchange; some bridge, there are none.
5 The antinomic top and bottom powers need joining; the
6 economic forces in politics have to avoid the disruption
7 of local society. Fortunately, some of these difficulties
8 have been considered by many settlements and by the
9 Territorial Department of local government.

10 The involvement of people is the
11 cornerstone of the future territorial and local politics,
12 involvement of all kinds of citizens, classes of society
13 or ethnic groups. Many Northerners have ideas on economic
14 development, land issue, cost of living, housing and
15 so on. Involvement is the key to the strengthening of
16 the northern situation. A full-elected Northwest
17 Territories Council is only a very small part of the
18 game. The Yukon, which has had an elected council for
19 67 years knows the limits of that quality. The
20 Territorial Councils themselves should be deeply engaged
21 in the involvement of people for a better democratic
22 life.

23 CONCLUSION

24 To conclude, let me first
25 remind you of the main characteristic of the relations
26 between Southern and Northern Canada. This feature
27 was isolated / by a perception test organized
28 big sixty specialists on the Canadian Northern
29 problems at the University of Toronto, in May 1974.
30 In their opinion, three main bodies strongly influenced

1 the development of the North; these are , the FEderal
2 Government, large companies, and Southern Canada as a
3 whole. Facing this dominance, look at the other
4 column, northern people, Territorial politics , Non-
5 economic programs, cultures, northern cultures, were
6 seen as minor factors. If the situation revealed by
7 that perception test is accurate, then we may have not
8 yet realized that "balanced approach" advocated by the
9 former Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs.
10 Something has to be done to ease the southern pressure
11 upon the North.

12 Consideration of both the
13 past and present political situation of each of Canada's
14 Northern Territories leads to other recommendations.

15 It should be advisable (a)
16 to accept (perhaps by national referendum) nordicity
17 as a Canadian liability and the quasi-unconditional
18 Southern grant attached to that philosophy; (b) to
19 recognize officially in school, in administration, the
20 diverse character of territorial culture; (c) to seek
21 for a better equilibrium between the centralizing and
22 the localizing territorial forces; (d) to let the
23 territorial politics (people and Councils) have a
24 greater voice in big economic developments at home,
25 not wait for the opinion of the Father; (e) and, may be
26 to consider that the Federality concept is not the only
27 political way, as it is one century , it is not
28 the only political way to deal properly with the
29 Provincial type . responsibility in the Territorial
30 North; why not put that issue before an independent

In Chief

1 political tribunal? Are we afraid of that suggestion?

2 Adjusted northness applies
3 not only sir, to engineering, biological and technical
4 fields but also and almost to human and mental affairs.
5 There can be no real northern development without a
6 significant improvement of the actual territorial
7 political structure and without some northernization of
8 the mentality of Southerners.

9 My last words concern the
10 political structure of the whole Canadian North. In
11 addition to the Yukon Territory and the North West
12 Territories, this area includes parts of seven
13 Provinces; British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan,
14 Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Newfoundland-Labrador.
15 With the Federal power, no less than ten governments
16 have responsibilities in this huge frontier. Unfortunately,
17 although these units share common interests and problems,
18 a specific northern liaison system between most of these
19 political bodies has never been organized, not even
20 between neighbours such as Yukon and Northwest
21 Territories. A standing secretariat sir, with the
22 Federal, the Territorial entities and Northern Provinces
23 as members, should be set up as soon as possible. But
24 if these ten powers decide at least to get involved
25 in that first national all-North organization, they have
26 to do the job with enough northness in mind. Thank you.

27 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
28 Dr. Hamelin. We appreciate the analysis you have given
29 in this Inquiry, of politics and decision-making in our
30 Northern Territories. I should say that there has been

1 filed with the Inquiry the final report of the
2 Standing Committee on Development and Ecology of the
3 Council of the Northwest Territories, that was tabled
4 in the Territorial Council on January 21, 1975. It
5 has been submitted to the Inquiry by the Chairman
6 of the Standing Committee, Mr. Butters, the member for
7 the Western Arctic, and it has been marked as an exhibit
8 in this Inquiry. The membership of that committee
9 consisted not only of Mr. Butters, the chairman, but
10 also of Councillor Parker of Yellowknife, Councillor
11 Rabesca of Great Slave North, Councillor Trimble
12 lower Mackenzie, and Councillor Hamelin, Dr. Hamelin
13 from whom we have just heard, Quebec City.

14 Yes?

15 MR. SCOTT: Can we take fifteen
16 minutes so that we can rearrange the room a little bit?

17 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, certainly,
18 we'll adjourn for a few minutes.

19 (WITNESS ASIDE)

20 (PROCEEDING ADJOURNED FOR FIFTEEN MINUTES)
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1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
3 at this stage in the overview we have three witnesses,
4 representative officers of the major native organi-
5 zations and the first is Mr. Richard Hardy.

6 RICHARD IRVING HARDY, sworn.

7 THE SECRETARY: Would you
8 state your full name please?

9 A Richard Irving Hardy.

10 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

11 Q Mr. Hardy, you are from
12 Fort Norman, I understand?

13 A Yes.

14 Q And the president of
15 the Metis Association of the Northwest Territories?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Would you carry on
18 please.

19 A I was just informed
20 recently that I was to be talking about the history
21 of our organization, but our organization is our
22 people, so what I am going to be talking about is
23 the Metis people in the Mackenzie Valley.

24 Not definitely, but probably
25 the first Metis appeared in the Mackenzie Valley nine
26 months after Mackenzie made his voyage to the
27 Arctic ocean.

28 (LAUGHTER)

29 You will note that I do not
30 use the commonly used term of "discovered". How

1 could anyone discover a region that had already
2 been inhabited for thousands of years? Inhabited
3 by our ancestors. Although Mackenzie may have been
4 responsible for the first of what are many today,
5 we did not begin to evolve as an entity until the
6 late 1800's. This evolution began as a result of
7 two factors. Firstly, the conclusion of the Riel Wars
8 of liberation when the prairie Metis were driven from
9 the Southern centres of development with many of
10 them ending up here in what is today the Mackenzie
11 District.

12 They and the white fur
13 traders and trappers who were beginning to move
14 into the district then took our Indian grandmothers
15 for wives and the result is that the men and
16 women who make up the membership of the Metis Association
17 of the Northwest Territories today.

18 I stand before you today as
19 an example of what a Metis is. Part English,
20 part French, part Cree and part Slavey .
21 Until recently we had truly been the forgotten
22 people. Rejected by both our Indian and White
23 counterparts, rejected by way of ignorance and
24 jealousy. Our isolation began as a result of the
25 decline of the fur industry and the peace treaties
26 that our Indian brothers signed.

27 After these treaties were
28 put into force, we suddenly became classed as white.
29 But who in white society would accept someone with an
30 Indian mother and who lived the Indian lifestyle?

R.I. Hardy
IN Chief

1444

1 Thus began the years of our bitter wandering, seeking
2 our identity. Over these years we have evolved as
3 strong individuals with even stronger family units.
4 Our strength evolved into each family unit protecting
5 its own, irregardless of circumstances, for this
6 was the only way that we could survive. I do
7 not think that anyone without having gone through
8 the fire can understand the feeling of being Metis.
9 Belonging to both, but in reality to neither.
10 Growing up in Fort Norman in the 1950's I went through
11 the fire. White and Indian accepting you on the
12 surface, but rejecting you from the heart and soul.
13 Imagine the feeling of a person being called "a god
14 damned half breed."

15 So for awhile we did what we
16 thought was the smart thing. When with the whites
17 we were white. When the Indians came we became
18 Indian. But this could^{only} go on for so long without
19 splitting ourselves apart trying to be two people.
20 So evolved the Metis identity.

21 Eventually with the
22 formalized body called the Metis Association of the
23 Northwest Territories. This was March 1972. Three
24 short years ago and what have we accomplished since
25 then? Some will say very little. We went broke
26 within 15 months of our organizing. We have supplied
27 a few programs in the area of housing, alcohol
28 rehabilitation and so forth. And many will say that
29 these visible type activities are hardly major accom-
30 plishments.

1 But these, as compared
2 to the hidden accomplishments are not of first
3 importance to me. The hidden accomplishment is not
4 even seen by some who have been affected by it.
5 We have given our people an identity. After our
6 identity was established we found a common bond
7 with the Indian people: The Land.

8 So we, as an Association
9 with a membership throughout the width and breadth
10 of the Mackenzie District, have knowingly and willingly
11 aligned ourselves with the Indian Brotherhood of
12 the Northwest Territories, for the protection of
13 our common interests. When I say "aligned" I mean
14 just that, for we are still an independent entity.
15 Some of you may interpret my remarks here as that
16 of a bitter man. Let me tell you; we have every
17 reason in the world to be so.

18 The Metis people were
19 the catalyst that formed Canada, but where are we
20 mentioned in your history books? We are referred
21 to as traitors and the only thing that you can tell
22 is how you hung our leader. Is it so wrong that a
23 group of people should fight for their rights? Have
24 we been wrong or is Canada ashamed of the treatment
25 it has afforded its first citizens?

26 Are the Metis poor? Yes,
27 many are. Many Metis people are fishermen, trappers,
28 lumberjacks, etc. As our rivers and lakes become
29 polluted, they find it harder to make a decent
30 living. AS more roads are built, mines develop,

1 pipelines proposed, the trapping is ruined.
2 many Metis people because they live in remote
3 areas did not have schools until a few years ago,
4 thus, many of them of them do not have a good enough
5 education to change from being a fisherman to holding
6 a complex technical job. Many have traditionally
7 earned much of there living by hunting and shooting
8 moose, caribou, ducks, etc.. To preserve the
9 wildlife and allow white people to hunt harsh laws
10 stopped the Metis from shooting the animals when
11 they need food. Because of these and other very
12 complicated reasons most Metis are poor.

13 I caution this Inquiry
14 not to interpret my remarks today as a sign of
15 weakness in our joint relationship, for we are
16 firmly united in our stand. There will be "No
17 Pipeline" until the land claims issue is settled
18 to our satisfaction. Let me point out that
19 when my people say something we mean it. In the
20 late 1800's you drove many of my people here.
21 There is now no place left for us to disappear to.

22 Referring to our Position
23 Paper of April 22, 1974, which was delivered here
24 in Yellowknife/^{by}my predecessor you will find that our
25 thoughts have not changed and all I have done is
26 informed you further of the History of my People.

27 Also in that Position Paper
28 we outlined four pre-conditions for our participation
29 in these hearings. We are satisfied that they have
30 been met, at least partially.

1 I urge this Inquiry not to con-
2 strue our participation in these hearings as an accep-
3 tance of the principle of the type of development
4 that it is discussing. This hearing for us is an
5 opportunity for our People to put their case before
6 the Canadian public.

7 Thank you.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank
9 you, Mr. Hardy, for your moving statement on
10 behalf of the Metis people.

11 (WITNESS ASIDE)

12 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Raddi,
13 please.

14 SAM RADDI, sworn.

15 THE SECRETARY: Would you
16 state your full name please.

17 A Sam Raddi.

18 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

19 Q Mr. Raddi I understand
20 that you are the President of the Committee of
21 Original Peoples Entitlement.

22 A Yes, I am.

23 Q And you live in Inuvik
24 when you are not traveling around.

25 A Yes, I do.

26 Q And that you were
27 brought up at Bank's Island?

28 A Yes, that is right.

29 Q And lived at Tuk
30 for awhile.

1 A That is right.

2 Q All right.

3 Would you like to carry on
4 and tell the Commissioner the Committee's position.

5 A Yes.

6 Mr. Commissioner, I have
7 nothing in a written statement, but I will try to give
8 you a brief history of C.O.P.E.

9 C.O.P.E. started on the
10 28th of January 1970. It was about the same time
11 that the oil companies had found oil at Atkinson Point,
12 and prior to that the Dewline was -- had just finished
13 its work. And at that time the people, the Native
14 people were feeling the pressures of the settlements.
15 The people found out living in a settlement they
16 were getting pressured into being in the lower places,
17 cheaper homes and not the best parts of the
18 settlement.

S. Raddi
IN Chief

1 They were pushed aside from
2 where they really wanted to live, in their own home
3 and their own place. Also they had a feeling at the
4 time that they were not given the kind of jobs that
5 they really wanted, and they found it necessary to pay
6 rents for homes that they didn't really want, and jobs
7 that they didn't really want, and they feel that nobody
8 really cared any more any ~~now~~.

9 At the time we had the Federal
10 Government and the Territorial Government representing
11 the people, we don't really know if they cared too
12 much. So all these things together, the native people at
13 once on the 28th of January got together and formed
14 an organization called COPE. COPE was formed so that
15 we could be one strong voice of the native people, so
16 they can be able to be heard and be able to do what
17 they feel that their rights are.

18 For example, they have rights
19 to have jobs like anybody else at any level, and
20 education and businesses and so forth.

21 So when COPE was formed at
22 the time the oil companies tried to go out at Atkinson
23 Point we heard and rumors were going on that the oil
24 companies would hire people only from the south, not
25 the native people around the area. They say that the
26 native people were not reliable. So we thought that
27 wasn't fair at all, so COPE put a strong voice on
28 national news, television, all over southern Canada
29 that in order to deal with the Federal Government, the
30 native people have rights for jobs with the oil companies.

S. Raddi
In Chief

1 So we were able to get a lot of people working in
2 the oil companies. Also COPE had to work with the
3 people of Sachs Harbor in 1970, the early part of the
4 year. The oil companies got there and COPE was able
5 to help the people of Sachs Harbor to get a lawyer to
6 assist them with their work so they don't overdo the
7 Bank Island. COPE has done a lot of things
8 to help individuals^{get} on their feet and a lot of small
9 problems. Also the people, the native people felt
10 since the oil companies came, and the development in
11 the north, there were a lot of problems, like alcoholism
12 was a major one. Now after all these years, we are
13 feeling a lot of pressure with development coming
14 around.

15 If you would take a look at
16 the people around in the settlements, you could see
17 that they are not happy like they used to be at one
18 time. At one time we were able to do what we wanted
19 to do, and this was why we felt it was important to
20 form an organization. COPE was formed before the
21 Inuit^{Tapirisat} of Canada was formed, which is our national
22 organization. COPE is affiliated with I.T.C.
23 COPE also works very closely with the Indian Brother-
24 hood for Northwest Territories, and the Metis
25 Association in the Territories.

26 COPE is also very interested
27 to see that the native peoples are assured of their
28 rights. Native people have rights to their land, they
29 have rights to a fair settlement. We are protecting
30 also the people's rights to a land settlement, like I

S. Raddi
In Chief
J. Wah-Shee
In Chief

1 said, and we also are concerned that there will be
2 no settlement -- there will be no development until
3 land settlement is made. That is the strong position
4 that COPE has taken.

5 I'm a little carried away
6 here, I better stop now, sir, I'm getting a little
7 carried away here. I don't have anything that's
8 written down to remind me of where I am standing.

9 MR. SCOTT: Thank you,
10 Sam. We'll be seeing more of you, no doubt, as we
11 get along.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
13 very much, Mr. Raddi.

14 A You're welcome.

15 (WITNESS ASIDE)

16
17 JAMES WAH-SHEE, sworn:

18 THE SECRETARY: State your
19 full name, please.

20 A James Wah-Shee.

21
22 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

23 Q Mr. Wah-Shee, you're the
24 president of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest
25 Territories?

26 A Yes.

27 Q Now I understand that
28 you propose to interpret some of your remarks in
29 Dogrib, if the Commissioner is content with that.

30 A Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: Certainly.

J. Wah-Shee
In Chief

1 Q You go ahead, Mr. Wah-
2 Shee, please.

3 A Thank you.

4 (WITNESS SPEAKS IN DOGRIB)

5 Mr. Commissioner, I am pleased
6 to have this opportunity to discuss the nature and
7 purpose of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest
8 Territories, and what that signifies for the political
9 development of the Northwest Territories. I am going
10 to try to do that by reviewing for you the history of
11 our organization.

12 The Indian Brotherhood of the
13 Northwest Territories which represents all Treaty Indians
14 living here in the Mackenzie District, was created to
15 protect our rights, our land, and our way of life --
16 for ourselves, our children and our children's children.

17 Ever since the signing of the
18 treaties 8 and 11 in 1899 and 1921, intruders have been
19 coming on our land with little regard for our way of
20 life, and for the animals on which we depend. The
21 government apparently believes that the treaties sanc-
22 tion this misuse of the land. But Indian people have
23 an entirely different understanding of the treaties
24 for which we know that the treaties, even when validly
25 entered into, were only peace treaties and not land
26 cession treaties. And in some cases the treaties were
27 not even validly entered into because the Indian people
28 were simply deceived and the printed versions of the
29 treaties bears no resemblance to the promises that
30 were made orally.

J. Wah-Shee
In Chief

1 By the late 1960's our
2 dissatisfaction with mal-treatment by the government
3 had reached the point that we decided we, like our bro-
4 thers and sisters in the south, needed a brotherhood
5 to represent our interests.

6 In 1968 the Rae Band temporarily
7 refused to take treaty because of the violation of the
8 treaty rights. In the spring of 1969, Indian people from
9 Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, Fort Providence, Fort Rae,
10 Fort Resolution and Yellowknife met here in Yellowknife
11 and agreed that an Indian Brotherhood should be formed
12 to achieve a fair settlement of our rights.

13 At about the same time the
14 Federal Government issued its infamous white paper on
15 Indian Affairs, which essentially abolishes the special
16 relationships between Treaty Indians in Canada and the
17 Federal Government as set out in the Indian Act.
18 Indian organizations across Canada rejected this paper
19 because it would eliminate the Federal Government's
20 constitutional responsibility to the Indian people,
21 and would remove the special status which the
22 treaties with the Crown gave to the Indian nations.

23 In the face of this opposition
24 the Federal Government withdrew the white paper in the
25 south, and it continued to implement it in the Northwest
26 Territories where it thought it could get away with it.
27 The Northwest Territories Government itself a mere
28 creature of the Federal Government, argued that all
29 residents of the Northwest Territories were simply
30 northerners, and that there could be no distinction

J. Wah-Shee
In Chief

1 Territories. At the same time we began to develop a
2 communication system for the Indian people with a
3 regularly published newspaper, called "The Native
4 Press."

5 The long struggle to re-estab-
6 lish Indian Affairs' responsibility for Northwest
7 Territories Indians succeeded with the re-opening of
8 the Indian Affairs Office in Yellowknife in 1972. This
9 was a vital and important victory for the Indian
10 Brotherhood, and an admission by the Federal Government
11 that "We are all northerners" policy of the Territorial
12 Government was illegitimate.

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J. Wah-Shee
In Chief

1 Indian bands in the Northwest
2 Territories would henceforth have the right to the
3 same programs under the Indian Act, such as community
4 development and band management, as Indian bands in the
5 rest of the country receives. The Brotherhood had
6 argued this position from the outset and this victory
7 was proof of the importance of the united action taken
8 by the Indian bands of the Northwest Territories through
9 their native organizations. Finally in 1974, funding
10 for community development and for band management was
11 in fact made available.

12 Meanwhile, research continued
13 on the treaties by the Indian Brotherhood at the same
14 time major developments by the mining companies and
15 the oil and gas companies continued to erode the land
16 rights of the Indian people. In March, 1973, at a
17 meeting in Rae, the chiefs agreed to file a caveat in
18 the Territorial Land Titles Office to prevent the
19 government from giving away any more Indian land to
20 the developers.

21 The evidence of two years of
22 research of taping the evidence of the old people
23 present at the signing of Treaties 8 and 11, and looking
24 through historical files, indicated that no mention of
25 land surrender occurred when the treaties were signed.
26 In spite of what the written treaties published by the
27 Federal Government said, the treaties were simply
28 agreements between Indian people and the Crown by which
29 the Indian people agreed to live in peace with the white
30 man, provided the continuation of their way of life was

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In Chief

1 guaranteed and their hunting and trapping rights were
2 protected, in return for medical, educational and other
3 programs provided by the Crown.

4 With so many major developments
5 taking place at the present time on Indian land, like
6 oil and gas exploration, and the Mackenzie Highway, the
7 time has come once and for all to prove that the
8 Indian people still own the land and had not surrendered
9 it as the written treaties claim.

10 The caveat filed by the chiefs
11 emphasized that Indian people had the first rights
12 to 400,000 square miles of land in the Mackenzie
13 District, and that anyone developing that land would
14 do so at the risk of having to compensate the Indian
15 people for damage to that right.

16 The Federal Government did its
17 best to stop Justice Morrow from hearing the case. It
18 did not want him to hear the evidence of the Indian
19 people because it feared that the Indian position,
20 that the treaties were only peace treaties and did not
21 involve land surrender, would be proven true. The
22 government failed, and Justice spent all summer travel-
23 ling to the communities and hearing the evidence of the
24 old people regarding the treaties.

25 On September 6, 1973, Justice
26 Morrow ruled that the chiefs had the right to file the
27 caveat, though to protect them against damages he did
28 not allow them to do so until all appeals to his deci-
29 sion had been heard.

30 In effect, Justice Morrow said

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1 the Indian view of the treaties were correct. He held
2 that the Indian people of the Northwest Territories had
3 aboriginal rights to 400,000 square miles around the
4 caveat area, and that the Federal Government had a
5 constitutional obligation to protect these rights.

6 While Indian people have always
7 been aware of these things, we had been ignored by the
8 Federal Government which preferred to listen to develop-
9 ment interests. The decision in the caveat case was
10 therefore a great victory for the Indian people, and
11 was further proof of the value of united action by the
12 Indian bands of the Mackenzie District through their
13 Indian Brotherhood.

14 Although the Federal Government
15 had chosen to appeal Justice Morrow's decision on
16 technical matters, there is no doubt that the caveat
17 decision made the Federal Government realize that they
18 would in fact have to negotiate a land settlement with
19 us. Henceforth business men, including any pipeline
20 consortium, would have to be cautious about investing
21 money in the Northwest Territories until the land
22 question has been settled. Only then will they be able
23 to deal with the real owners of the land and may be
24 able to obtain permission to use the land that they
25 need. Though the caveat has not been filed, the Indian
26 people have won their case.

27 Indian people want the land
28 issue settled too. But the Brotherhood on behalf of
29 the Indian people have told the government that we will
30 not be rushed into a land settlement that could lead

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1 to another situation like the treaties, where the
2 people were not informed about their rights and the value
3 of their land. Indeed, the Brotherhood has argued
4 that the communities must have the time to obtain all
5 the information they need to decide what a real good
6 land settlement should be -- a land settlement which
7 protects not only our past but also makes sure that
8 we, the Indian people in the future, have control over
9 our land and our lives.

10 In the aftermath of Justice
11 Morrow's decision, the Federal Government has shown a
12 greater willingness to initiate direct talks towards
13 the achievement of a negotiated land settlement. For
14 our part, we have taken a number of steps which indic-
15 ate our willingness to enter into negotiations.

16 Recognizing the common interest
17 of all Indian people, whether treaty or non-treaty,
18 the Indian Brotherhood and the Metis Association of the
19 Northwest Territories have come to work very closely
20 together around the whole question of land claims, as
21 well as other matters, including our joint intervention
22 before this Inquiry.

23 In June 1974, our two organiza-
24 tions held a Joint Assembly in Fort Good Hope. At the
25 largest meetings of Indian people ever held in the
26 Mackenzie District, over 250 delegates from all the
27 Indian communities unanimously stated that the 450,000
28 square miles of land was their land, and that the
29 only just and equitable land settlement was one based
30 on which they would enter into negotiations.

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1 The position taken at that meeting was that they
2 emphasized that land was more important than money.

3 In effect, we stated the nature
4 of our land claims and indicated that we were prepared
5 to begin the long and arduous process of negotiations.
6 Unfortunately, the response of the government has
7 tended to question the seriousness of our claim, in
8 spite of the fact that it is simply a formal statement
9 of the deeply felt feelings of the Indian people in all
10 of the communities.

11 At that first Joint General
12 Assembly, Indian people also said very clearly,

13 "No pipeline before a land settlement."

14 That position had been taken by the Indian Brotherhood
15 as early as our Second Annual Meeting in July of 1971.
16 That is now the position being taken by the Indian
17 Brotherhood and Metis Association in our joint inter-
18 vention before this Inquiry.

19 To facilitate our land claims
20 and our intervention before this Inquiry, the Indian
21 Brotherhood, in co-operation with the Metis Association
22 now has field workers working in most of our settlements.
23 As well as assisting people in discussions of the
24 land claims and the pipeline, they are doing detailed
25 research on our use of the land which is already demon-
26 strating very clearly that what may seem to the outsider
27 to be a vast tract of empty land, which in fact is
28 virtually everywhere used by the Indian people as they
29 hunt, trap and fish.

30 We are concerned not only to

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In Chief

1 protect our land-based economy but also to make it
2 possible for Indian people, as they become increasingly
3 educated and skilled, to follow other pursuits as
4 they see fit.

5 Working for wages for white-
6 dominated institutions, whether corporations or
7 government, is not and should not be the only alternative.
8 We are doing research on economic development in co-
9 operation with Indian people in the communities that
10 we expect will show that there is great potential for
11 community economic development under the control of
12 Indian people, in the context of a just land settlement.
13 Indeed, we are inclined to believe that the only
14 latter kind of development really deserves to be called
15 economic development. What too often passes under that
16 name, which is more accurately called colonialism.

17 While our land claim is neces-
18 sarily our primary focus, we do have other programs
19 in which we are involved jointly with the Metis
20 Association, that are very relevant to the day to day
21 life of the people in our communities. Areas of par-
22 ticular concern are education, alcohol and housing.

23 We are just now in the process
24 of becoming involved in a major way in game management.
25 As a result of the demonstrable mismanagement of the
26 Territorial Government in this area, which is so vital
27 to our people, a representative of the Brotherhood
28 will sit with the representatives of other native
29 organizations to constitute a majority on the new
30 Game Advisory Council. We see this as an important

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In Chief

1 step in the process of which control over game manage-
2 ment will finally return to our hands, where it has
3 always belonged.

4 In conclusion, native organiza-
5 tions such as the Indian Brotherhood emerge , and
6 will continue to exist, because they are the only means
7 by which our Indian people can protect their rights to
8 their land and have a future where our own culture and
9 institutions can survive and flourish. As northerners
10 we may resent the extent of southern control of our
11 lives and favor greater regional autonomy, but as
12 Indian people we know that we must focus primarily on
13 building our own institutions while seeking as best
14 as we can to live amicably with other white Canadians.
15 We believe that an increasing number of Canadian people
16 understand what we want and are also seeking as best
17 as they can to live amicably with us.

18 Since its formation in 1970,
19 the Indian Brotherhood has forced the government to
20 recognize the rights of Treaty Indians. Now in alliance
21 with the Metis Association, we are fighting for the
22 rights of all Indian people. From our unity grows
23 our strength.

24 We know that a long and diffi-
25 cult struggle lies ahead but we are resolved to get
26 nothing less than a land settlement that assures our
27 Indian people to live -- the right to live on their
28 land and to maintain and strengthen our way of life.

29 Thank you.
30

J. Wah-Shee
In Chief

1 (WITNESS SPEAKS IN DOGRIB)

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
3 for your eloquent statement on behalf of the Indian
4 people.

5 (WITNESS ASIDE)

6 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
7 this afternoon the overview will have three native
8 persons whose cumulative life-span in the Territory,
9 I think, is about 250 years, who will tell, who will
10 give the Commission a view of their life and their
11 work. May I suggest that we might adjourn until one
12 o'clock, Mr. Commissioner?

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes,
14 we'll adjourn until one.

15 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 1 P.M.)
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(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner, our first overview witness this afternoon is Jim Wokie of Tuktoyaktuk who is suddenly three years old so -- I am well on my way in calling him to provide 250 years of evidence of life in the Territory, I ask Mr. Wokie to come up here with Father Lemer who will act -- who is a friend of his-- and who will act as Interpreter. Mrs. Wokie is also here and we are glad to have ^{her} / with us today.

(Interpreter, sworn.)

JAMES WOKIE, sworn.

THE SECRETARY: Would you please state your full name.

A James Wokie.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Well, perhaps, Mr. Wokie, you can begin to tell us about your life and your work and the things that you would like the Commissioner to know about the way that you and your people live.

A Mr. Commissioner, I was born around the Horton River. I spent all my first years around Horton River. And then living at River right from the beginning from the start of my life. When I was nine years old I began trapping by myself walking around Horton River. AS I was growing old and learning a ^{little} / bit more and of the age where I could handle the dogs I began trapping with a dog team. This, Mr. Commissioner, would be

1 around 12 years old.

2 Then when I was 14 years old
3 I really began my trapping life as an adult
4 and as a trapper as any other trapper, capable of
5 handling my dog team and going quite far enough, covering
6 lots of ground.

7 When I reached 15, I did not
8 of
change at all in my life, when I reached 16, then
9 really I began trapping more intensively and I
10 went quite far out and camping quite often at each
11 trip, each time I went to visit my trap line.

12 When I reached 17 sometimes
13 I stayed as long as approximately one month out
14 without coming home and I cover lots of ground
15 trapping various kinds of animals and fur such as
16 colour foxes, white foxes, and later I kept trapping
17 and hunting the various kinds of game like the caribou
18 and spent quite a long time on my trap line and
19 hunting trips, this not only for my own life but for
20 my family, for my parents.

21 Since I have been living
22 around Horton River and Baillie Island I have seen
23 many changes in the surroundings. When I was younger,
24 I remember very well to have seen the coast around
25 Baillie Island and Barter Peninsula. The coast
26 was very, very high and in the ocean every summer
27 there were lots of, all ice from the glacier and
28 it seems that there were not so much wave, not so
29 much water and I saw that the days that last
30 for a long time. There were no big boat travelling

1 in those days through the ice.

2 Then later on and these were
3 days around 1925 when the Hudson's Bay put a store in
4 Baillie Island, but I have witnessed quite a bit
5 of change. There were less rough ice and less all
6 ice on the ocean. There were more waves and more rough
7 water and the boats, the big ships began travelling
8 in the Arctic Ocean.

9 These continued for
10 quite awhile and gradually Baillie Island was
11 washed away into the ocean in such a way that the
12 Hudson's Bay, who had a store at Baillie Island,
13 had to move to ^{Mainland} / Point, this is a little bit south
14 of Baillie Island, and they stayed there only for
15 a few years and finally they closed the store al-
16 together at Mainland Point.

17 Then the mission, there
18 was a mission, the Fathers had a little store then
19 at Stanton. In 1955 when the store was closed, then
20 we remained alone, myself and my family around
21 Baillie Island and we have to go back and forth
22 from this winter quarter to Tuktoyaktuk to get some
23 food and supplies and every fall -- he did not
24 mention the months, but it is November, Mr. Commissioner
25 -- as soon as the ice was strong enough we would
26 go back again to our hunting and trapping
27 ground around Baillie Island.
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1 All the time I had been at
2 around Baillie Island, I lived for several years,
3 no visitor come to see us, we were entirely alone in
4 that area and of course knowing this we had some
5 privation and some suffering. Staying there were myself,
6 my wife and three of my boys. The boys were always
7 on the go, trapping and hunting; trapping foxes and
8 hunting on the sea ice for seals and polar bear,
9 although right now there is only two of my boys who
10 are doing the same and following the same kind of life,
11 living at Baillie Island and going from Tuktoyaktuk.

12 I went for quite a few years
13 was
14 even though I/old because I liked very much the
15 country, it was quite rich enough in white foxes, in
16 seal and quite good also for polar bear.

17 I used to come then at the
18 end of the season to Tuk, to Tuktoyaktuk, and then
19 get a bit of supply after spending the summer there
20 at Tuktoyaktuk paying the debt of the previous year,
21 having another outfit, and back again we went to
22 Baillie Island area.

23 I had three boys that are
24 living on the tradition of the Inuit. I got two of
25 my boys at Paulatuk and I've got another one at
26 Bank's Land. The one at Bank's Land doing pretty
27 well, pretty good there as far as hunting and
28 trapping is concerned.

29 Perhaps for many people that
30 do not know the life of the Inuit and especially the
life of the trapper it seems to be perhaps a bit of

1 a romantic, but since my youth I have been traveling,
2 trapping and hunting for many days and it is not
3 a very easy life and it is a very tough life.

4 I went for many years trapping
5 and hunting. We had to suffer from the cold, from
6 the bad weather, from shortage of food and sometime
7 we spend a few days without any food for us or for the
8 dog. It is not like now when the people are traveling --
9 -- excuse me, pardon me -- when the people are
10 working. I will call it a bit of an inside job when
11 the people can stop and have a coffee break. We did
12 not have in those days no coffee break because we
13 wanted to travel as fast as possible when the
14 weather was good. So very often when I was on the
15 trap line, we would get up at five o'clock in the
16 morning, we would stop at ten o'clock in the after-
17 noon -- ten o'clock in the evening and I had to
18 feed the dogs and build up a snow house.

19 However, a certain time
20 when I was feeling hungry in the middle of the day,
21 we tried to have something to eat, something
22 to drink and when I tried to eat a bit of bannock
23 my bannock was as hard as cement on my teeth.
24 This was the life that I led, that I lived for many
25 many years, so this life was not all the time under
26 sunshine, and was not all the time very, very easy.

27 When I was on the Horton River
28 in my early days we had no flashlight and for
29 camping it was quite a problem sometime during the
30 dark and we were very lucky indeed when we could

J. Wokie
In Chief

1 find some drift wood along the beach, along the
2 sea shore and we were capable to make little fire.
3 The time after having a little fire, looks like we
4 are a bit rich.

5 When I was trapping at that
6 time of course we had no electric light. We were
7 using only candles and lantern.

8 When I was young I saw
9 the man of the expedition. I have seen Mr. Stevenson,
10 and at that time I went also with my Dad find working
11 to San Francisco about whaling ship of Captain
12 Peterson. When I come back my Dad find work on board
13 the Schooner, "The Gladiator" and with two other
14 partners by the name of Joe Coals and Jones, my father
15 was the skipper, he thought, he had in mind to go
16 around Bank's Land.

17 However, Mr. Stevenson
18 bought the schooner, "Gladiator" and then short of
19 a schooner, they went to spend the winter at
20 Horton River.

21 Then when I went to Bank's
22 Land I did not suffer too much in Bank's Land because
23 I had quite a good outfit. I had the pine stove and
24 because there is no wood in Bank's land we were
25 using the pine stove for cooking our meals and
26 cooking the food for the dogs also and the first
27 year I was in Bank's Land there was quite good
28 also for caribou and for arctic hare.

29 I did pretty good at the
30 time that I was in Bank's Land the first year and

J. Wokie
In Chief

1 second years. I got around 400 white foxes. --
2 the first year around 400 foxes and in summer then
3 we went of course to the big island, Herschel Island
4 where we sold our foxes to Captain Peterson and
5 from whom also we got our supplies for the next
6 winter.
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1 Fred -- Fred Carpenter, then
2 we bought a schooner from Captain Peterson, the name
3 of the schooner was "The North Star". I sold my share
4 to Fred Carpenter and Susie, and I bought another
5 schooner, "The Nanook". I used that schooner, "The
6 Nanook", for two years or three years and then the
7 government got it and many of the people here in the
8 audience must have seen it around the delta some
9 place and probably around Bear Lake.

10 The time I was around Baillie
11 Island and Horton River, then the DEWline began.
12 This, Mr. Commissioner, was in 1955. I seen some camp
13 around Cape Perry and Nicholson Island and later on in
14 many other places. When the DEWline began, there
15 was some work offered to the Inuit and at the time in
16 those days at the beginning of the DEWline and the
17 construction time, there were no houses but tents
18 surrounded with snow, and for heating system they had
19 a fuel stove. Many had been working for a while at
20 the constuction of the DEWline, and especially some of
21 the Inuit got pretty good jobs, especially those who
22 know a little bit, were smarter, a little bit perhaps,
23 but know how to drive a machine, how to handle some
24 machinery, and they worked there till the end of the
25 construction. However, when the construction was over,
26 some of those Inuit that had been working at the DEW-
27 line found themselves without any work, and the laws
28 also the tradition -- fishing, hunting and trapping --
29 and perhaps they like it very much to have good houses^{too.}

30 So after the DEWline was

J. Wokie
In Chief

1 -- construc^{tion}/Of the Dew Line was over, many found
2 themselves without no job. The only one that got
3 job were those who have more skill.

4 Right now I have seen the
5 same process coming nowadays, when a large company
6 came into the country. There were many job offered and
7 many people working; but the ones who got the really
8 good jobs were those who weresmarter, know a little
9 bit about machinery, driving tractor or driving any
10 kind of equipment.

11 I have witnesses also the
12 same time in the children going to school, going even
13 to Grade 12, and coming home they don't know any more
14 the way of the Inuit, they don't know how to talk,
15 they don't know how to drive dog, they don't know how
16 to hunt, they don't know how to fish. Although some
17 of them may have good work, but I am concerned and I
18 am afraid after the experience of the Dew Line that they
19 will be much suffering, after the construction, after
20 the exploration for the fuel, the gas, and the work of
21 oil company will arrive at the end. I am afraid that
22 many of those people working in those places find them-
23 selves without work and with much grief and suffering
24 when they try to leave again according to our tradition
25 and try to survive in our country.

26 I have seen also during my
27 life span many changes in life in animals. There were
28 certain times, certain period where around Horton
29 River there were quite a bit of caribou, and there
30 were periods when there were no caribou at all. Right now

J. Wokie
In Chief

1 there is quite good for caribou and the meat is also
2 very good. Caribou are quite fat and it is very, very
3 good meat to eat. I've seen also many changes in the
4 sea. Before there were lots of seal on the open water
5 and on the ice around the Horton River, Bathurst
6 Peninsula and Baillie Island. There were also quite
7 abundant polar bear, quite abundant also. However,
8 these seem to have changed, at least on the sea ice
9 and in the Arctic Ocean around Horton River and Baillie
10 Island, however my two boys hunting and trapping around
11 Cape Bathurst and Baillie Island and they reported that
12 there were not too many seals and not too many polar
13 bear. Whenever they got some seals, they were very,
14 very poor, not so much fat on them.

15 I have also noticed that the
16 polar bear right now are less numerous and it seems
17 that they don't find much food on the sea ice, and
18 perhaps they have changed their mind not to find no
19 food in the sea on the ice, they are coming to try
20 some other food on land. This is what I have noticed
21 myself, and what my boys have told me.
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Certainly there are some other people who want to talk. I thank you very much to have listened to what I have said.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much, Mr. Wokie.

A I have got quite a bit
to say more, but I thought somebody else want to talk
too.

(LAUGHTER)

I got lots of things to say all right, yet, all right,
I got some good ones too, but I save it for some other
time maybe.

THE COMMISSIONER: We'll look forward to that. Thank you very much.

A I don't know if the people will like what we say. I hope they like it anyway.

THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you very much.

A Maybe I didn't say enough
all right, but --

(WITNESS ASIDE)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Wokie tells me that he forgot to tell you about the time that he got isolated with Mr. Raddi's father out on the sea ice and they had to live there with nothing for three months, but he says if I remind him he will tell you that in detail when you come to Tuktoyaktuk.

THE COMMISSIONER: Tell Mr. Wokie that I travelled on "Nanook" down Bear Lake last

V. Bonnetrouge
In Chief

1 summer.

2 Mr. Bonnetrouge?

3
4 VITAL BONNETROUGE, sworn:

5 THE SECRETARY: Give your
6 full name, please.

7 A Vital Bonnetrouge.

8 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

9 Q Mr. Bonnetrouge, I
10 understand that you're a status Indian, are you?

11 A Yes.

12 Q I hope you will tell the
13 Commissioner about that, and I understand that you
14 were born and raised in Providence.

15 A Yes.

16 Q Well, you tell us about
17 your life now.

18 I should also say, Mr.
19 Commissioner, before Mr. Bonnetrouge starts, that he's
20 told me how old he is -- 78?

21 A Yes.

22 Q So I'm getting close.

23 A I been born 1897, that's
24 quite a while ago. It's not yesterday. Rather than
25 have an interpreter I'd rather do it myself, you know,
26 although my education won't sound very good but I
27 hope the people would understand my meaning.

28 I went through schooling in
29 the R.C.. Mission in Providence, which the school was
30 running by the nuns in the old days. But first of all

V. Bonnetrouge
In Chief

1 I want to say I remember from the time I was small
2 maybe I would say about 1900, I remember the first time
3 that I came out and we were travelling from Providence
4 to hunt caribou, some Providence people and also older
5 people mixed together were hunting caribou between Lapperriere
6 and Providence.

7 My travelling like this, I
8 been all over, I would say, on the Mackenzie River
9 right up from Fort Smith right down to Tuktoyaktuk.
10 Then what happened was that I remember, my folks they
11 were living in Providence, they had a log house which
12 is what -- no insulation whatsoever, just a mud house,
13 I would say than logs, you know, and being out there,
14 coming back, I remember I was dragging in the water,
15 I guess, I would say. My folks had me tied up on a
16 sleigh going home to Providence, that was in the spring.
17 Just to remind the people, you know, how far^{back}/I remember
18 what I did in my lifetime, my world life with my parents
19 when I was young. I remember lots of different --
20 my own folks, what they were doing by staying in
21 Providence, living in the log house. They had potatoes
22 growing and fishing in the fall, which they do, I guess,
23 right now, they are doing their fishing, and for the
24 winter supply.

25 In those days that I'm talking
26 about, it's a long time, I hardly remember everything what
27 I did, but I just tried to remind myself what I'm planning
28 to say, I wrote it down a little bit, you know, in
29 a rough way; but it's a long story, probably I won't
30 add it up today, probably some other time because there

V. Bonnetrouge
In Chief

1 are probably people who want to know, right up to
2 today.

3 Then I was at the age when
4 I was supposedly going to school must have been around
5 18-1905 when I was seven years old, I guess, and I
6 went to school, French School, of course when it first
7 started, the R.C. Mission School, and I learned English.
8 Coming out I was getting to 14 years, I guess, that
9 they start to teach this English School in the afternoon.
10 In the morning it was French and in the afternoon it
11 was English, but maybe right now I could explain a little
12 bit the way I was brought up in the school. Stayed in
13 boarding school for seven years, just like to stay
14 in a jail-house, I would say.

15 (LAUGHTER)

16 What happened in there, you
17 know, in seven years, I pretty nearly got away one
18 running away from the school
19 time bare-footed/but I got caught again so I was put
20 back. But I'm not sorry today that I learned quite
21 and
22 a bit by, travelling/with the white people north.
23 I tried to make, survive myself, you know. Finally
24 anyway, when I came out from school, I lost my dad
25 when I was at school and just my mother, and we were
26 about seven boys at the time, which I lost them all
27 practically, just the two of us alive in the family.
28 What I remember in 1900, I would say, I would think,
29 I was just a small kid but I was in the settlement of
30 Fort Providence living in a log house, I remember white
people coming in and trying to survey the river,
which it was not surveyed yet, you know, and going

V. Bonnetrouge
In Chief

1 along on the Mackenzie River surveying, every settlement
2 they stopped, you know, in order to write it all this
3 lot, by sharing all the logs, you know, of course there
4 was R.C.M. and Hudson Bay and northern traders and it
5 took all the -- they were first come, first serve,
6 so the chief comes out, so therefore at lower post
7 we were living in there and yet, you know, by dividing
8 all this land it was giving out, buying them out
9 or taking it from -- and buying from the government
10 their land, what sizes they wanted.

11 But I mean to say the way
12 we were treated, you know, right in Providence where
13 my dad had a log house, somebody else had bought a
14 lot and therefore we had to move out of there. We
15 had no place to go except to move somewhere else, and
16 we move our little sack into the next lot and then
17 somebody comes along again and bought that lot and we
18 had to move out of there again.

19 By that time my mother was
20 still alive, we were using little shacks and that little
21 log house so finally someone came from Good Hope
22 I believe, because there was no traders down as far
23 as Good Hope, I think, and they wanted a couple of
24 persons to be an interpreter to work with Northern Trades
25 down in Good Hope. I was crazy, I don't want to go.
26 So I want to go. I want to go so I went and I didn't
27 know if it was going to be interpreter or whatever, I
28 don't know.

29 I didn't know the difference, you know, but I had to
30 learn, I learned quite a bit although my education is

V. Bonnetrouge
In Chief

1 not a full one, but I stayed there for three years in
2 Good Hope.

1 That was in 1920 I think,
2 and we stayed there three years, the last year that
3 I stayed there I got married and married to a girl
4 from Good Hope. I wanted to go home, back to
5 Providence. So I stayed down there three years and
6 then I came back home to Providence and I started
7 to work in there a little bit for myself, trapping
8 and whatever job I could get hold of it and I ended
9 up at having a little job for the R.C.M.P. and I
10 started at the detachment at Providence.

11 I stayed there -- I worked
12 at the detachment for -- I would say for about six
13 months and I gave up that job. I went to trap that
14 winter, but I did not make very much. So I had to
15 come back again to the job again, the next summer
16 after not making very much money by trapping, so
17 I came back to the town again and I found out they
18 wanted me to go back to Fort Good Hope
19 to be an interpreter for Hudson's Bay this time.
20 I forget the year now --

21 Well anyway, I stayed there
22 another three years, I stayed with the Bay for another
23 three years now and while I was there, in those
24 days there was no airplane, I am sorry that I miss
25 some parts, but I will come back to it -- in those
26 days there was no plane, nothing there, the mail
27 was supposed to be coming around sometime, you know,
28 and there was no plane, just by dog team.

29 I made my first trip when I
30 was working for the Store traders in Good Hope and I

1 made a trip down to Arctic Red taking the mail
2 down in January. I took the mail down and I stayed in
3 Arctic Red. It took me about nine nights, open
4 camp -- every night to get down to Arctic Red.
5 A tough trip, I am telling you that much. An open
6 camp, no wood. You had to sleep on the beach.
7 Find some driftwood, the bank was too high to climb,
8 about 300 feet -- the dogs could not make it and so
9 we had to camp right on the beach and find some
10 driftwood to get the fire going for-- until we get
11 to our supper.

12 The next morning we had
13 to go again, so I made that trip in nine nights, that
14 is ten days traveling steady in deep snow, up to
15 48 inches of snow.

16 The year that I worked for
17 the Bay I made another trip there, from Good Hope to
18 McPherson this time. I took the Hudson's Bay
19 inspector from Good Hope back to McPherson. I don't
20 quite remember how many days it took me to make that
21 trip, but I made it anyway and probably, I would
22 say that it was maybe in 20 days.

23 I went through all that,
24 you know -- and came back and after staying there
25 three years with the Bay there, I gave up the job
26 on account of something I guess --

27 I came back up to Providence
28 and I made a little bit of money by working -- made
29 a little bit of money by working. I did not
30 have no place to stay and by the time I left my Mom --

1 by herself, you know, in a log house -- and the
2 little log house is still standing there.

3 But anyway, we had to move
4 out of there and so I had to do something. I had
5 the family too by that time. Oh, well --

6 I could not get any logs,
7 I could probably get them, you know, it took me a
8 little while to square logs and haul them in and
9 all this you know, therefore, I bought an old one --
10 secondhand one from down the river which was about
11 seven miles below Fort Providence.

12 No power or anything to
13 haul them so I bought myself a 25 - skiff and
14 made it up and made it anyway, and I bought a
15 little kicker, a little Johnson kicker, 2 and a
16 half horsepower which, of course is about six or
17 seven miles current. I haul them in anyway.

18 You know, I did all this
19 and I built that house there and I built that house
20 there and brought all the logs from down the river
21 and hauled a little oil in from Providence and
22 I started to build it up and I finished it, you know
23 in the fall before freeze up, but there was no
24 insulation, just mud again.

25 Well, anyway, this thing
26 the working, bringing in a good life, a person has
27 to move around, you know, the way that I did it, you
28 know, and personally I was kind of proud of myself,
29 stuck up I guess I would say. And then I did not
30 want anyone to beat me -- you know, there were lots

1 of white people there too, but there were some Metis
2 there too also. They were living around there, I
3 seen them, they were working and so I thought to myself,
4 I am a person like anybody else, so maybe I could do
5 the same thing and so I did anyway, you know. Travel-
6 ing all this and I think I missed -- counted a lot
7 of the things, but anyway, I will come back to it
8 later on.

9 I finished the house and
10 by that time I lost my Mom, but anyway, the way things
11 happen, you know. After this thing, our little log
12 house, you know and the people had bought the
13 lot again so we had to move out, you know -- they
14 did not tear that one down, we would have stayed
15 there, but we moved them in. I raised my
16 family in there.

17 Well, after so many years,
18 I guess, two or three years, that house was getting
19 to be no good. I do not know how it happened,
20 but anyway. I bought some more logs from somebody else
21 from up the river this time, I brought them in,
22 I hauled them in on my shoulder up the hill and built
23 another one. Well, this one, it is still standing
24 there today.

25 But the way that I wanted
26 to say -- and all these things they happened you
27 know from the past, I hardly can remember, you know,
28 I was a person which -- I like to go, I would say.
29 And I remember those days too, you know. When I was a boy
30 before I moved down to Good Hope, I missed

1 that part.

2 Well, all these things I did
3 in my past, you know, -- / ^{forerunner} for the dog team, I used
4 to work on that too, you know, around there from
5 Providence to Simpson and from Providence to Resolution.
6 I ran ahead of the dogs, you know and I did all of
7 these things, you know -- I do not know if I got any
8 wages, I didn't care, I was getting my three meals.

9
10 I did not care for the
11 money -- just go. So one time I was a good heart
12 out, but these fur buyers that were coming down,
13 from Fort Norman, I believe they went as far and then
14 they were going south, they hired me out in order to
15 be a forerunner for them to Resolution.

16 So I went again there and
17 I had to stay there and I was a forerunner.
18 I was hired by them, by this Lampson Hobbles as they
19 call it, and I stayed there for ten months until the spring
20 time and I was hired you know, to be
21 going up the river in open water from Resolution to
22 Fort Smith.

23 Anyway, we were about three
24 or four of us boys, we were going up to meet this
25 outfit that were supposed to be coming down from
26 Chipwyan into -- down the river, I would say. And
27 we were not the only ones going up into that little
28 river in the spring. There was R.C.M.P. that were
29 going up to Smith. ^{was} So / the Hudson Bay and this outfit
30 that I was working for Lampson-Hobbles.

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In Chief

1 I don't know how many days it
2 took us to get to the top and end where there was a portage
3 to get to Slave River but it was only a matter of a
4 one-mile portage, we had to portage everything, canoes
5 and our junk, and then paddle up the river,
6 no power, just arm power in paddling, and we made that
7 portage, we got to Salt River and we got as far
8 as we could by canoe and then we took the horses from
9 there. They were using horses around Fort Smith, so they
10 met us in Salt River, they took our junk up, our
11 canoes up to Fort Smith. There we stayed out for a
12 couple of days, I think we were supposed to be going
13 to Cape Bayom but there was no way of going so I
14 those days the mail carrier
think/they were travelling by boat out, they were
15 coming down from Chipywan to bring the mail down by
16 power boat.

17 So they took us across the
18 River and they took our little boat to meet
19 them scows that were coming down from McMurray. We
20 met them close to Chipywan and we had to stay there
21 for a day. I thought I was foing to paddle the scows again
22 you know, them scows now are full of -- 45 footers.
23 The people used to use them around Slave Lake.

24 Anyway they had, I don't know
25 how many scows they had to take down around the river
26 there, I didn't raise that for.
27 I ended up in Resolution, which I gave up, but I didn't
28 finish my story.

29 Finally, you know, oh, this
30 scow had to get through the rapids so they took all

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In Chief

from the scows
the freight/ to portage everything up to Fort Smith,
by horses. We took all the empty scows through the
rapids as far as what they call Little Mountain, I
think. Through the fast waters and narrows to get
through.

They had to portage the scows just one mile, I think,
just over the hump, it was done by horses, but at that
time I got sick. ^{The flu, I guess.} I couldn't stand up so they brought
me over to Fort Smith and I stayed in Fort Smith and
waited for them to get everything through the rapids.

Finally when they got to Fort
Smith there we re-loaded everything onto the scows and
drifted down the river. When I got to the mouth of
Slave River, that's on Great Slave Lake, when I got
there I quit. There was no pay. Those southern
traders were sailing and freighting from Resolution into
Fort Rae. When I took that job I quit the other
one and went back on the other job, on the freighters,
sailing with a schooner up to Fort Rae.

I made one trip up to there
and back up to Smith, on the way back we had a bunch
of kids, you know, who were supposed to be going to
school, and we brought them all in to Resolution for
schooling. There the school was run by the R.C.
Mission, and from there we had to make a trip down
to Fort Providence with the schooner, so we took a bunch
of freight down there too at the same time, and when I
got down to Providence I quit the outfit. This time
I felt myself secure and I quit the job.

Anyway, I trapped that winter

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1 and I didn't make much at it. I don't know what I
2 was going to say, it's a long time to remember, but
3 anyway after being -- going through this, the next
4 summer I wanted to get on working in some area where
5 there was a good chance for me to travel, so I took
6 a job as a deckhand on a boat, a steamboat. I stayed
7 there for a season, and by doing this I learned a
8 lot, you know, by travelling, so I don't know how
9 many years I been decking on the steamboat, maybe
10 two years I would say, you know, so finally I don't
11 know how many years I worked there but anyway I
12 took another job, they wanted someone to send a wire
13 from Norman Wells, to get down to Norman Wells and
14 I'd be a river pilot. I did not know the difference,
15 but I took the job anyway, I flew down there and it
16 was airplane in those days in '46, they took me down
17 there, I took the job and it's not a steamboat this
18 time, it is a marine vessel. This outfit by the
19 name of Yellowknife Transportation.

20
21 I worked for this outfit for
22 nine years, at this small job too, you know, at say
23 about \$200 a month which I thought to myself was pretty
24 good. I never did make any money in that amount in
25 my life, this was the first time so I thought it was
26 pretty good so I took the job and by working on the boat
27 I could only work so far, you know, just the season
28 which lasts about six months.

29 After we finished in the fall
30 you go home and there's no work, nothing except

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In Chief

1 trapping, and I wanted to make a living so I had to
2 do it, you know. In those days what I'm trying to say
3 is we used to have a tough time by trapping, fishing and
4 hunting. With snow up to 48 inches, you know, and when
5 you come to break the trail and set your traps and
6 open camp every night, but I did trapping several times,
7 sometimes at 50 below and sometimes 60 below, it's quite
8 a life, you know. But I went through with it.

9 But still I made it, you know, Many times I made it,
10 you know. The young people would do the same
11 thing.

12 there
13 After working/for nine years
14 for this outfit, I quit that job, after working it for
15 nine years, resigned on account of my family. My wife
16 was just coming out from the hospital and I wanted to
17 see her. While travelling with the boat, the skipper
18 let me have five minutes so therefore I wanted to see
19 my wife really bad, you know, and so I quit the job.

20 Next year I was hired out by
21 the Hudson's Bay. Then, too, I worked for them for
22 about three years as their river pilot but then too,
23 you know, after three years' service with them, we
24 went foraging down Tuktoyaktuk last years on sol-
25 dier transportation and then I was left without a job
again.

26 After this, you know, I worked
27 for this oil Company seising on the river
28 with petroleum, I think it's a petroleum company
29 and they were working/ on the river so I took their
30 job, it took me down to around Tuktoyaktuk, I think, or

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In Chief

1 around Aklavik. They were seising all them small cricks, you know
2 and they worked their way all the way up as far as
3 close to Fort Good Hope, I believe, but we ended up
4 there and next year they wanted me to go back so I
5 went back for them again, but this time, since they
6 were going to be going around to Eskimo Bay from
7 Tuktoyaktuk with the small boat that they had, you
8 know, I was kind of scared and I'd never been on the
9 ocean before so it got me ^{a little} excited, you know, so I
10 gave up that job. I was scared of the ocean.

11 After working for this
12 outfit for two years, then after that I think I went
13 ^{home} back trapping a bit, you know, but no luck again. So
14 I don't quite remember the year when this D.P.W.
15 on the British Highway, but I took that job as a
16 bull cook at this time. It's not that it's an easy
17 job, you know, but everybody seemed to dislike the
18 job to be a pot-washer, you know, and dish-washing.
19 I took it anyway, just to say that the person willing
20 to work, and then they wanted to know what I did so
21 I took the job, quite good money in it, but I worked
22 for them I think eight months, I think. We were working
23 around Providence and I took this job for eight months
24 and after eight months they moved somewhere else and
25 they didn't want me; after they hired somebody else,
26 I guess.

27 So anyway they let me out of
28 the job and I jumped from one job to another, you
29 know, I ended up, oh, I don't know, the last job I
30 got in the north was 1962, the last job after that,

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In Chief

1 now I got the Old Age Pension in 1962, that's the last
2 job. I could get some job probably but after you get
3 your pension you're not supposed -- you can't very well
4 be hired out, you know.

5 Anyway what I was getting was
6 too small.

1 The hunt that I was
2 getting was too small and I tried to trap
3 too besides, but -- just to make a living, and just
4 to have a few extra dollars, you know. I made it
5 anyway, I made it up to today and now what I went
6 through all this.

7 I never mentioned about this
8 Treaty, that was in 1921 when we got the
9 treaty of down in Good Hope, that is where I was,
10 you know, hired out by the northern traders.
11 And come back to my '21 again, and that is the time
12 that it paid Treaty. I was hired out by the
13 northern traders, you know, I could not go around and
14 listen to them, but according to the ^{people} / they did not
15 say very much, you know, but what I know from the
16 people from Providence, the same arrangement was
17 made, I guess.

18 I read that, some of this book,
19 the treaty book and I do not think that it is
20 right, you know, But we see now the same policy today
21 that was written down in 1921.

22 The person that was doing
23 the interpreting is still alive -- is still alive.
24 He is a great person, but he is over 82 now. But I
25 think that Mr. Monroe, I think went over and talked to
26 this person in Providence. I do not know if I should
27 mention his name -- Vic Lafferty. I do not particu-
28 larly know this person, but is pretty old person.

29 According to what I read
30 on this treaty book, everything seemed to be changed

1 and as I said too, to my people, on those days when
2 the treaty was paid out, nowadays it is different
3 because there is a list. Nowadays we have a meeting
4 or talk to somebody or somebody else all what is said they
5 can write it down what you are saying, what you
6 are trying to explain. In those days there was
7 nothing of this kind.

8 So, it is hard to believe
9 one way or the other, which I do believe, because
10 the people on their own way of life and in their own
11 language they were saying that there was no land men-
12 tioned when the treaty was paid out.

13 I would say that I
14 read a lot too, maybe there are a lot of people
15 that do the same thing probably trying to you know
16 That is what I find out, you know and this book was
17 written too, you know, I think that it came out later
18 on after because I know I can read and write,
19 but according to this book, you know and I think
20 that this book was made out afterwards, maybe one
21 or two years afterwards.

22 Everything that the people
23 had lived on, you know, must serve us well. They
24 were trying to trap and make a living in such
25 a way. Sometimes we are lucky and unlucky most of
26 the time in our old life.

27 This pipeline, the proposed
28 pipeline was supposed to be coming out, I know I
29 have been written on that part too, and trying to
30 see how this pipeline will be going through from

1 Prudhoe Bay into the South. I know this river,
2 you know, as I said and I read some articles,
3 what they / ^{had} said from meeting with the people in the
4 North.

5 I don't think there is given
6 enough explanation how this pipeline is going to come
7 through and cross the river.

8 I can read the river from
9 Fort Smith area down to Tuk , every corner and
10 after being out there 13 years, I guess, I would say,
11 out on the Mackenzie River, I know how it looks
12 by staying on it six years.

13 I know how the break up
14 and the ice break up in the spring comes out. At
15 Fort Good Hope it runs sometimes for 2 weeks.

16 All the ice coming down
17 from one end to the other and the pressure that
18 present the ice is / ^{jammed and} you know there is a lot
19 of pressure behind and when it gets jammed in some
20 spot then the water rises about 75 feet and you
21 could see all the river banks you know,
22 you -- you can see from the water, there
23 were right up in the bush, driftwood pile up in
24 the bush if you want to see how high the water
25 rises some times at the break up and I was just
26 wondering how this pipeline was coming through and
27 crossing the river. Unless if they have a
28 tunnel going under the river, it would probably work,
29 you know, but by laying this pipeline in the bottom
30 of the river, you know, I do not think that it

1 would last very long. Especially between this Ramparts
2 and this Sans Sault rapids. There is a lot of
3 pressure you know at break up. The force of
4 the ice -- it has to get somewhere and it works just
5 at some very different times under and it goes
6 right down to the ground, you know, there is quite
7 a pressure, therefore -- right there it might work,
8 but anyway, our way of life, you know, by fishing
9 and trapping and hunting, you know, It is kind of
10 thinking, you know, that to preserve our land,
11 you know. I am afraid that the Government, they are
12 trying to ruin the country by having these oil compan-
13 ies run across the north -- you cannot move anywhere
14 in the north the way that it goes now.

15 After oil companies I know
16 have been searching crisscrossing the roads, you
17 see from the air, that all the land looks like a checker-
18 board.

19 When I was young, when I was
20 living in Fort Providence, I could at least get
21 out in the morning out with my snowshoes and
22 hunt moose and come back in the evening and have
23 some meat. I killed a moose. I come back to my home,
24 to my family. Now I cannot do it. Now a person has
25 to get up 30 to 50 miles before you can find a moose
26 track. You have to go with a car or a truck. A
27 dog trip cannot make it 50 miles out in the bush,
28 so it is getting pretty near to be a hard way of life
29 for the people now, with everything, you know, this
30 has changed a lot to me. The way I see it, you know,

1 around
2 there was nothing here in 1946 when they came around.
3 I was -- up to here, up to Yellowknife. Just
4 Lasham Island, they call it.

5 There was only a few houses
6 in there. There was nothing. We just saw a new
7 town. You call it a new town. There was nothing
8 on this side and you see how big a change it is.
9 The same all over the country now. Everything is
10 changing so fast and I personally cannot keep up
11 to it now.

12 Well, thanks a lot now,
13 I mean -- to let people know from the old days to the
14 present time, it is a -- it is hard to remember
15 everything, but I remember what I just said, you
16 know, that is all. For the future, for the young
17 people to learn education, that is what counts a lot
18 for the young generation, but so far though, we
19 are trying to college some of the young people where
20 they can learn something for future generations so
21 I think that is fine.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
23 very much, Mr. Bonnetrouge. We appreciate your
24 coming to tell us about your life, thank you.

25 MR.S COTT: Mr. Commissioner,
26 could we have a 15 minute break and then Mr. Andrew
27 will be here.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: WE will
29 take a 15 minute break.

30 (WITNESS ASIDE)

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR 15 MINUTES)

F. Andrew
In Chief

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
the next overview witness is Mr. Fred Andrew, and
Betty Menicoche. I think Fred speaks English pretty
well, but he wants to have Betty Menicoche as an
interpreter just in case.

BETTY MENICOCHÉ: Sworn, as interpreter.

FRED ANDREW, sworn:

THE SECRETARY: State your
full name.

A Fred Andrew.

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT:

Q Mr. Andrew, want to sit
up here? Don't forget to talk so everybody can hear.

A Thank you, all you people
who will listen to what I have to say. I'm going to
be telling about all my life and I'll tell it to the
best of my ability, and I'm happy that you're listening
to me now.

I'm going to be speaking but
I have an interpreter with me, but if you don't under-
stand one another too well I'll have to speak slowly.

My father, my relatives,
we all lived in tepees. We had no stove, no blankets,
only rabbit skins which we used for our blankets. On
my ankle I had no socks so snow fell in my shoes.

Teleta and Slave. That's what we
call the place I come from. Teleta. I didn't know
sugar, flour, or any of the other basics. I just knew
of the wild meat. I got about the age of reasoning and

F. Andrew
In Chief

1 when I was able to wear snowshoes, my father decided
2 that we would go across the river where there were a lot
3 of furs and food, so that's what we did. We left and
4 we travelled with a group of people that had three
5 dogs, some had four dogs, and some had five dogs to
6 pull their sleds, and we left from our place to Ross
7 River in the Yukon Territory. We got there and we
8 went to the store there. My father bought food from
9 the furs that he sold that we got from our land. There
10 one skin cost 25¢ in the Territories, but in the Yukon
11 one skin was worth a dollar.

12 My father bought food and until
13 then we never saw oranges or apples. He brought the
14 oranges and apples to us. My sister and I took a bite
15 of the oranges and we didn't like the taste so we
16 threw them away.

17 It was easy to live in the
18 Yukon and life was easier, so my father lived off the
19 land there for 15 years. There are a lot of good
20 things over there, but we lost half of our people so
21 the half that was left went back to the Territories.
22 We left after 15 years in the Yukon, my age I don't
23 remember, but I wanted to marry a woman so I married.

24 The people didn't know what
25 we wanted, but I knew it was there to take, so that's
26 what I worked for. So from Norman we trapped into the
27 Yukon because there was a lot of furs, so we made a
28 good living out of furs. So we finally made it up
29 to the beginning of Keele River and there we made three
30 or four moose-hide boats and it took several of us to

F. Andrew
In Chief

1 make moose-hide boats, and to make a moose-hide boat
2 it took nine moose-hides. So while we were in the mountains
3 I learned from the elders to hunt for furs and meat
4 and the meat we dried and we brought them back in the
5 summer, and that's what we lived on during the summer
6 months.

7 So when he was in the mountains
8 he thought of the tents that he saw with stoves and
9 the houses in the Territories. My father raised me and
10 we lived in tepees, and then we ate one rabbit hind
11 leg a day, and I thought of this while I was in the
12 mountains.

13 I thought of the life over
14 here and my father taught me to live, and there were
15 a lot of furs on the other side of the boundary and
16 that's how my father taught me to live, and I lived
17 with him until he died.
18
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F. Andrew
In Chief

1 Now after I married the woman
2 and my father had died, I went back to Norman and there
3 at the school I asked for work, and there I worked 9
4 to 10 hours a day, and one hour that I worked I got
5 paid 90¢.

6 I liked this. While I did this
7 I heard about the treaty payments. A man came to see
8 us and we asked him what the treaty was for, and he said
9 it was to help us out.

10 So we said, "Yes," and we got
11 paid.

12 We received treaty and I worked
13 all the time. I went back in the bush, no one helped
14 me, I ran out of food, I went to the man that gave out
15 rations and asked me to help me, to give me food for
16 my wife and child because we had no food.

17 "Because you're a man, why
18 should you get this ration?", the man told me.

19 "Because I was a man I took
20 that treaty and I didn't want to take it; anyway you've
21 got the food there, you have to give to me," I told
22 him.

23 He didn't say anything and then
24 he gave me the ration and then I went home.

25 So I went home, I was very
26 happy because my wife and child can eat now. I was
27 very happy. I liked this way. I lived this way, I
28 worked this way, and out of the furs I made good money
29 and I was making better money.

30 In the summer we went back in

F. Andrew
In Chief

1 the mountains. The dogs packed our food, we all
2 worked hard and then we took back the money.

3 We had a lot of beaver pelts,
4 there's a lot of moose in the mountain, but there were
5 a lot of grizzly bears, and these bothered the camp.
6 Once I went back in the mountains I had a gun in my
7 belt and I met a grizzly and I couldn't pull my gun
8 out and the bear was facing me. The bear was standing
9 in front of me and he phoosh.. so he really frightened
10 me. I stood there and I was thinking of going under
11 the trees and I looked at him in the eye and again he
12 phoosh.., so he frightened me again.

13 I worked and lived in the
14 mountains but all the other people died and I just had
15 one other person that went in the bush and the mountains
16 with me, but that is a lot of work. There were 16 of us;
17 14 were boys.

18 MR. SCOTT: Betty, I can't resist,
19 would you ask Fred how he got rid of the bear?

20 (LAUGHTER)

21 MR. SCOTT: It's the politics of confrontation, I think...

22 A He says he was going to
23 get some more meat and met the bear and he frightened
24 him, and I guess he was trying to shoot the bear.
25 We kept looking one another in the eye and I just left
26 him; he went away.

27 (LAUGHTER)

28 One summer I was making a
29 trail in the thickets and I hurt my eye, a stick poked me in
30 the eye so one day I went hunting with another man and
I couldn't see very well. Again we were into thickets

F. Andrew
In Chief

1 and I was in a rush. The man behind me grabbed me. I
2 was just about to step -- walk into the rear of a
3 grizzly,

4 (LAUGHTER)

5 because I couldn't see very well, I almost walked into
6 him.

7 So I didn't see him & I looked
8 at him and here was the bear looking at me between
9 his legs , so I just left him alone. I just turned
10 around and went back, and the man wanted to know what
11 I was doing, so I said, "We just left the bear."

12 In the wintertime we hunted
13 for our meat and then the bear kept bothering us,
14 like this, that's why I'm talking about it. In the
15 winter we went for meat in the mountains. When I started
16 working I went back to Norman and I worked there and I
17 went back in the mountains, and while I was going back
18 in the mountains I ordered myself some food, but I
19 ordered these foods, but I had ordered too much and
20 it was to reach Norman while I was still in the mount-
21 ains. So because I start ordering these foods, people
22 told me to try out for a store, so I thought of it and
23 I tried for it. So that winter I lived there and I
24 built myself a store, and a person that knew bookwork
25 very well helped me and I did very well that
26 winter.

27 In the spring and beginning
28 of summer (he thinks it was June), four white people came
29 to Norman and they came to see me and they wanted me
30 to work. They wanted to know if I knew -- they asked
me if I knew the country very well. I asked them, "Why

F. Andrew
In Chief

1 do you want to know if I know the land very well?"

2 Well, they wanted to know if

3 I knew the land over the mountains very well.

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1 They told me to come and
2 work with them and go across there. So he told me to
3 follow him in one weeks time to Norman Wells, so I
4 followed him the next week. He was the boss of the
5 army. He asked me to work with them, I said yes, and
6 it was to guide them along the mountains for the
7 pipeline.

8 So we took a dog team, three
9 of us, three of us men. It took us 33 days to go over
10 the mountains. So we ended up at Shell Lake. The army
11 was coming from the other side and there was some
12 coming behind us, and from Shell Lake, I left by myself.
13 I left in the early part of the summer and it took me
14 ten days to get back to Norman Wells. When I returned
15 the boss told me, I'll give you ten days off and go
16 home and buy some furs, so I went home. He told me
17 if you buy the fur pelts you come and bring them back
18 here.

19 I bought all kinds of furs.
20 Marten, beaver, fox and all the other kinds of furs,
21 and I brought them down to Norman Wells. Although we
22 were all living in a big house I hid it from them, I hid
23 it under my bed. And when we were working, a man came
24 to see me and then I showed him the furs, and then
25 he gave me a lot of money, and I sold him all my furs.
26 So all that money that I made I didn't have it, it all
27 went to the Hudson Bay.

28 So if I had kept my store I
29 would have done good. My daughter died, my wife died
30 so I just left my store. I had bought myself a tractor

1 also, at the same time I threw that away too.

2 So from then on, even though
3 I worked I kept going lower, and lower and lower.
4 I lost my wife, my daughter, and I still had my store.
5 My daughter was about the size of her, and for three
6 springs I asked the doctor to hospitalize her but he
7 never did. Because I lost my daughter, when they were
8 going to give me treaty money, I refused to take it.
9 Because I regretted losing my daughter I refused to
10 take the treaty, and I won the battle, I didn't take
11 the money, and it was because I lost my daughter.

12 And because I didn't take the
13 treaty, they said, because you didn't take the treaty,
14 what do you think you are? I told them, I am a Dene,
15 I am a people. They asked me how are you going to make
16 a living? I said, my father raised me on this land,
17 and I know how to use the land, so that's how I'm going
18 to make my living. Our land, the mud that makes it,
19 all the people that are sitting here, that's what they
20 are made of, and that's how we make our living.

21 I have made a living off the
22 land, and it's really changed now. This big house, I
23 have never lived in a house like this, and I haven't
24 see that before. And this, something at my mouth, I
25 don't understand that. I listen to this and maybe
26 later on I can understand what it is doing. I would
27 like to find out what it's doing later on, that's why
28 I'm talking.

29 Since I have been a child and
30 what my father has taught me to live off the land, what

1 I have been telling you. I'm not telling you any lies.
2 And that's how I have lived.

3 The road that they are building
4 now, that puzzles me. They say it is for everybody to
5 work on, but I don't understand it so it puzzles me,
6 so he wants to know what it is all about.

7 I have heard that the pipeline
8 is to go, I can't say anything. I say no. How about if
9 they bring the pipeline from Edmonton to Hay River, and
10 use the boats to bring the gas from down the river
11 up to Hay River. That's what I was thinking, I wonder
12 what they think about it? If they were to do this, it
13 will be okay, but what will happen if there is a big
14 fire, and the gas catches on fire, who is going to put
15 it out?

16 This is our land, we worry
17 about fires, forest fires, but still the fires keep on
18 catching on. Since I recall, I hear that people keep
19 their money in the banks. The Indian people don't do
20 that, they go out in the land and kill their meat. We
21 don't keep our money and things in the bank. We make
22 our living off the land. If we don't have any rabbit,
23 or moose or any fish, we don't have anything. I don't
24 have anything. I have nothing; I have to kill one or
25 two or three or four to survive to feed my family.

26 We are Dene. We don't write,
27 we use our heads, we use our head the right way. I
28 have been to the white man's land, and there to go to
29 the bathroom I have to pay ten cents --

30 (LAUGHTER)

1 and now, they go all over our land, and they are not
2 paying.

3 (LAUGHTER)

4 I have talked, I am sitting
5 among so many people and friends. What I say I have
6 talked amongst my people. It is what I have seen, and
7 what they have told me that I am repeating. And so
8 I left treaty,
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1 Myself, I left treaty, they told me to take
2 the money and I said no, I lost my daughter, so I am
3 not going to take any money.

4 Find out when you were born
5 and write it down for us.

6 The Anglican mission. The
7 anglican minister, I went to his house.

8 He asked me, "What do you
9 want?" I said, "I want to find out in the books to
10 find out the date that I was born." He said, "Yes,
11 yes" and we looked and it said, "This is when Fred
12 Andrew was born, 1903, May 15," that was when I
13 was born.

14 So for now, I am not a
15 child. I mean, I am not a child, I am an old man. I
16 do not know how to write, I use my intelligence. I
17 am telling you what I know. And if you want me to
18 come back and tell you some more I will do that.

19 I am just going to tell you
20 this much, my friends, that is all that I am going
21 to tell you.

22 MR. SCOTT: Ask Mr. Andrew to
23 tell us about the fishnets.

24 A My father and mother
25 gathered willows, reeds -- gathered willows. My mother
26 asked him, "What is it for?" and my father said that
27 it was for nets and then my father started taking
28 off the bark and then he separated the willow and --
29 I do not think that there is a translation for it --
30 you -- you spun it, I guess, you spun it against your

1 knee and then the next day my father wove it and
2 to weave the nets he used the portion -- there was
3 four fingers wide. So it was four fingers wide.
4 So that is what my father said he used -- four fingers.

5 And my mother spun a twine
6 about this wide .

7 So they brought it back
8 to the tents and I saw my father set it.

9 So the next day when he
10 was leaving I jumped in the boat with him, I went
11 with him.

12 So there the nets had
13 all kinds of fish. We catch all kinds of fish with
14 our nets.

15 So for now I am thinking
16 of making one and I might be making one.

17 That is what I am really
18 thinking about.

19 Since nets are really expen-
20 sive now, if I am going to give it away or sell it
21 is going to be very expensive.

22 That will be enough for
23 now.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank
25 you very much, Mr. Andrew. WE are all grateful to
26 you for coming and telling us about your life and
27 we will see you again in Fort Norman I think.

28 A Yes.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: I hope
30 so.

1 A Thank you.

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you.

3 (WITNESS ASIDE)

4 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner
5 that is the completion. -- Mr. Commissioner, that
6 is the end of this phase of the overview, I know
7 Mr. Roland and Mr. Ryder would want me to thank the
8 people very much for their co-operation and their
9 help in bringing these overview witnesses to you.

10 Tomorrow morning may I suggest
11 that we should begin at ten because two of the over-
12 view -- one of the overview witnesses is coming in
13 by plane. If we begin at ten we should be
14 able to complete, I think by lunch. The two segments
15 tomorrow are relatively controversial in view of
16 the guidelines and the Order-in-Council appointing
17 this Commission. They have to do with an overview
18 of the gas industry and an overview of northern
19 construction. So may I suggest ten o'clock tomorrow
20 morning, Sir?

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I
22 should say that when the community hearings are
23 held, there will be every opportunity for the people
24 who live in the communities and the settlements to
25 tell the Inquiry their views and to say what they
26 have to say in their own language and in their own
27 way, just as the witnesses who spoke this afternoon
28 had that opportunity. We will adjourn until ten o'clock
29 tomorrow morning.

30 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED UNTIL MARCH 8, 1975)

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